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Custos receiving the oath, Pg. 20.

THE

MYSTERIES OF POPERY UNVEILED,

IN THE

UNPARALLELED SUFFERINGS

OF

JOHN COUSTOS,

AT THE

INQUISITION OF LISBON.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE ORIGIN OF THE INQUISITION AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES;

AND THE

MASTER KEY TO POPERY.

BY ANTHONY GAVIN,

ONE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS OF SARAGOSSA.

ENFIELD:

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Frederic B. Allin

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PREFACE.

In presenting the following work of Coustos' snfferings to the public, it may be remarked that few publications have received so extensive a patronage; which is fully evinced by the respectable list of subscribers annexed to the English copy, prefaced with a dedication to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, the then Grand Master. This proving the character and merit of the narrative, the publisher is induced to believe that it will be equally acceptable on this side of the Atlantic. A work of this nature, well authenticated, must be considered extremely interesting: but for the honour of humanity, it is hoped there may never be occasion to draw the pen in the same field.

INTRODUCTION.

IT was not vanity that induced me to publish the following accurate and faithful relation of my sufferings in the Inquisition of Lisbon. A strong desire to justify myself with regard to the false accusations brought by that tribunal against me; as well as against the brotherhood of free masons, of which I have the honour to be a member, were the chief motives for my taking up the pen. I am likewise very willing the whole world should receive all the light and information I am capable of giving, concerning the shocking injustice, and the horrid cruelties exercised in the pretended holy office. Persons who live in countries where this tribunal is considered an abomination, will, from the perusal of the following work, have fresh cause to bless Providence for not fixing their abode among the Spaniards, the Portuguese, or the Italians.

Such of my readers as may hereafter reside in countries where this barbarous tribunal is established, will here find very salutary instruction for their conduct; and consequently be less liable to fall into the hands of the unrelenting Inquisitors.

And should any one yet have the sad misfortune to become their innocent victims, he will here be taught to avoid the snares laid, in order to aggravate the charge brought against him. These snares ought the more to be guarded against, as they are but too often spread by the Inquisitors, merely to give a specious air of justice and equity to their iniquitous prosecutions.

Should the relation which I now offer, be found of use to the public, I shall be happy in having performed my duty; and shall be still more gratified if my narrative helps to open the eyes of those who, hurried on by a blind zeal, think it meritorious in the sight of Heaven, to persecute all persons whose religious principles differ from theirs.

With a view of giving my readers all the proof possible, in the nature of things, that I have really undergone the tortures mentioned in the following account of my sufferings, I have shewn the marks

on my arms and legs, and have likewise been examined by Dr. Hoadley, Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Cary, surgeons; and am particularly obliged to those gentlemen, for the leave they have given me to assure the public, they are satisfied that the marks must have been the effect of very great violence; and that they correspond exactly to the description of the torture.

HISTORY

OF THE SUFFERINGS OF

JOHN COUSTOS,

IN THE

INQUISITION AT LISBON.

I AM a native of Berne in Switzerland, and a lapidary* by profession. In 1716, my father came, with his family, to London; and as he proposed to settle in England, took the necessary steps to become a naturalized subject.

After living twenty-two years in that city, I went at the solicitation of a friend, to Paris, where I worked in the galleries of the Louvre. Five years after, I left this capital, and removed to Lisbon, in hopes of finding an opportunity of going to Brazil, where I flattered myself that I should make my fortune. But the king of Portugal, whom I addressed with a view to obtain permission for this purpose, being informed of my profession, and the skill,

* A dealer in stones, or gems.

I might have in diamonds, &c. by the advice of his council, refused my petition, upon the ground, as I supposed, that it would be improper to send a foreigner, who was a lapidary, into a country abounding with immense treasures, whose value, the government endeavours by all means possible to conceal, even from the inhabitants.

Whilst I was waiting for an answer from court to my petition, I became acquainted with several substantial jewellers, and other persons of credit, in Lisbon; who made me the kindest and most generous offers, in case I would reside among them, which I accepted, after having lost all hopes of going to Brazil. I was now settled in the abovementioned city, equally to the satisfaction of my friends, my employers, and myself; having a prospect of gaining not only a support for my family, but also a competency for old age; and which I should undoubtedly have effected, had I but escaped the cruel hands of the Inquisitors.

It is proper here to observe, that the Inquisitors have usurped so formidable a power in Spain and Portugal, that the monarchs of those kingdoms are no more, if I may be allowed the expression, than their chief subjects. Those tyrants do not scruple to encroach so far on the privilege of kings, as to stop, by their own authority at the post-office, the letters of all whom they may think proper to suspect. In this manner was I served, a year before

the Inquisitors had ordered me to be seized; the design of which I suppose was to see whether among the letters of my correspondents, some mention would not be made of free-masonry; I passing for one of the most zealous members of that art, which they resolved to persecute, upon pretence that enormous crimes were committed by its professors. However, though the Inquisitors did not find, by one of my intercepted letters, that free-masonry either struck at the Romish religion, or tended to disturb the government; still they were not satisfied; but resolved to set every engine at work, to discover the mysteries and secrets of masonry. For this purpose, they concluded that it would be proper to seize one of the chief free-masons in Lisbon; and accordingly I was pitched upon, as being the master of a lodge; they likewise cast their eye on a warden, an intimate friend of mine, Mr. Alexander Mouton, a diamond cutter, born in Paris, and a Romanist. He had been settled six years before his seizure, at Lisbon, in which city he was a house-keeper; and where his integrity, skill, and behaviour were such, as gained him the approbation of all to whom he was known.

The reader is to be informed, that our lodges in Lisbon, were not kept at taverns, &c. but alternately at the private houses of chosen friends. In these we used to dine together, and practice the secrets of free-masonry.

As we did not know that our art was forbid in Portugal, we were soon discovered by the barbarous zeal of a lady, who declared at confession, that we were free-masons; that is, in her opinion, monsters in nature, who perpetrated the most shocking crimes.—This discovery immediately put the vigilant officers of the Inquisition upon the scent after us: on which occasion my friend Mr. Mouton fell the first victim, being seized in the following manner.

A jeweller, who was a familiar of the holy office, sent a friend, (a free-mason also) to Mr. Mouton, upon pretence that he wanted to speak with him about mending a diamond, weighing four carrats. They agreed upon the price; but as this was merely an artifice, for our familiar to identify the person of the said Mouton, he put him off for two days; upon pretence that he must first inquire of the owner of the diamond, whether he approved of the price settled between them.

I happened to be at that time with Mr. Mouton; a circumstance which gave the highest joy to the jeweller; finding that he had got a sight, at one and the same time, of the very two free-masons whom the Inquisitors were determined to seize.

At our taking leave, he desired us to come together at the time appointed, to which we both agreed. The jeweller then made his report to the Inquisitors, who ordered him to seize us, when we should return about the diamond in question.

Two days being elapsed, and my business not permitting me to accompany Mr. Mouton, he went alone to the jeweller to fetch the diamond, which was computed to be worth an hundred moidores. The first question the jeweller asked after the usual compliments, was, 'Where is your friend Coustos?' —As this jeweller had before shown me some precious stones, which he pretended I should go to work upon, Mr. Mouton imagining he was desirous of putting them instantly into my hands, replied, "That I was upon 'Change; and that if he thought proper, he would go and fetch me." However, as this familiar, and five subaltern officers of the Inquisition who were along with him, were afraid of losing half their prey; they inveigled Mr. Mouton into the back shop, upon pretence of asking his opinion concerning certain rough diamonds. After several signs and words had passed between them, the oldest of the company rising up, said, he had something particular to communicate to Mr. Mouton; upon which he took him behind the curtain; when, inquiring his name and sirname, he told him that he was his prisoner, in the king's name.

Being sensible that he had not committed any crime for which he could incur his Portuguse majesty's displeasure, he gave up his sword the moment it was demanded of him. Immediately several trusty officers of the Inquisition, called familiars, fell upon him to prevent his escaping; they

then commanded him not to make the least noise, and began to search him. This being done, and finding he had no weapons, they asked whether he was desirous of knowing in whose name he had been seized? Mr. Mouton answered in the affirmative: "We seized you (said they) in the name of the Inquisition; and, in its name, we forbid you to speak, or murmur ever so little." Saying these words, a door at the bottom of the jeweller's shop, and which looked into a narrow by-lane being opened; the prisoner, accompanied by a commissary of the holy office, was thrown into a small chaise, where he was so closely shut up, (it being noonday,) that no one could see him. This precaution was used to prevent his friends from getting the least information concerning his imprisonment; and consequently from using their endeavours to procure his liberty.

Being come to the prison of the Inquisition, they threw him into a dungeon, and there left him alone; without indulging him the satisfaction they had promised, which was, to let him speak immediately upon his arrival to the president of the holy office, to know from him the reason of his imprisonment. On the contrary, they were so cruel to Mr. Mouton's reputation, as to spread a report that he was gone off with the diamond abovementioned. But how greatly were every one of his friends surprised and shocked at this slander! As we all enter-

tained the highest idea of his probity, none of us would give credit to this vile report; whence we unanimously agreed, after duly weighing this matter, to go in a body to the jeweller, who was the owner of the diamond, and offer him the full payment of it; firmly persuaded, that nothing but the most fatal and unexpected accident could have made him disappear thus suddenly, without giving some of his friends notice of it. However, the jeweller refused our offer in the politest manner; assuring us at the same time, that the owner of the diamond was so wealthy a man, that the loss of it would be but a trifle to him.

But as truth frequently breaks through all the veils with which falsehood endeavours to cloud her; this generosity in persons to whom we were in a great measure strangers, made us suspect some iniquitous, dark act. Our conjecture appeared but too well grounded, from the severe persecution that was immediately raised against the free-masons; I myself being seized four days after.

Perhaps I should have escaped their merciless paws, had I not been betrayed in the most barbarous manner, by a Portuguese friend of mine, as I falsely supposed him to be; and whom the holy office had ordered to watch me narrowly. This man seeing me in a coffee-house between nine and ten at night, went and gave notice thereof to nine officers of the Inquisition, who were lying in wait for me with a chaise, near that place.

I was in the utmost confusion, when, at my going out of the coffee-house with two friends, the above officers seized me only. Their pretence for this was, that I had passed my word for the diamond which Mr. Mouton had run away with: that I must certainly be his accomplice, since I had engaged my friends to offer to pay for the diamond; all which (added they) I must have done with no other view than to conceal my villany. It was to no purpose that I alledged a thousand things in my own justification. Immediately the wretches took away my sword; hand-cuffed me; forced me into a chaise drawn by two mules; and in this condition I was hurried away to the prison of the Inquisition.

But, in spite of these severities, and their commanding me not to open my lips, I yet called aloud to one of my friends (Mr. Richard) who had been at the coffee-house with me, and was a free-mason; conjuring him to give notice to all the rest of our brethren and friends, of my being seized by command of the holy office, in order that they might avoid the misfortune which had befallen me, by going voluntarily to the Inquisitors, and accusing themselves.

I must take notice, that the Inquisitors very seldom cause a person to be seized in broad day light, except they are almost sure that he will make no noise nor resistance. This is a circumstance they observe very strictly, as is evident from the man-

ner in which they they took Mr. Mouton. Farther, they frequently make use of the king's name and authority on these occasions, to seize and disarm the pretended criminal, who is afraid to disobey the orders he hears pronounced. But as darkness befriends deeds of villany, the Inquisitors for this reason, usually cause their victims to be secured in the night.

The Portuguese, and many foreigners, are so apprehensive of the sinister accidents which often happen at Lisbon in the night time, especially to a person who ventures out alone, that few are found in the streets of this city at a late hour.

I imagined myself so secure in the company of my friends, that I should not have been afraid of resisting the officers in question, had the former lent me their assistance. But unhappily for me they were struck with such a sudden panic, that every one of them fled; leaving me to the mercy of nine wretches, who fell upon me in an instant.

They then forced me to the prison of the Inquisition, where I was delivered up to one of the officers of this pretended holy place. This officer presently calling four subalterns, or guards, these took me to an apartment, till such time as notice should be given to the president of my being catched in their snare.

A little after, the above-mentioned officer coming again, bid the guards search me; and take away

all the gold, silver, papers, knives, scissors, &c., I might have about me. They then led me to a lonely dungeon, expressly forbidding me to speak loud, or knock at the walls; but that in case I wanted any thing, to beat with a padlock that hung on the outward door; and which I could reach, by thrusting my arm through the iron grates. It was then, that struck with the horrors of a place of which I had heard and read such baleful descriptions, I plunged at once into the blackest melancholy; especially when I reflected on the dire consequences with which my confinement might very possibly be attended.

I passed a whole day and two nights in these terrors, which are the more difficult to describe as they were heightened at every little interval, by the complaints, the dismal cries, and hollow groans reverberating through this dreadful mansion from several other prisoners, my neighbours; and which the solemn silence of the night made infinitely more shocking. It was now that time seemed to have lost all motion, and these threescore hours appeared to me like so many years.

But after calling to mind that grief would only aggravate my calamity, I endeavoured to arm my soul with fortitude and habituate myself, as well as I could to woe. Accordingly I roused my spirits; and banishing for a few moments, these dreadfully mournful ideas, I began to reflect seriously of adop-

ting some method to extricate myself from this labyrinth of horrors. My consciousness that I had not committed any crime which could justly merit death, would now and then soften my pangs; but immediately after, dreadful presaging thoughts overspread my mind, when I reflected upon the crying injustice of which the tribunal that was to judge me is accused. I considered, that being a protestant, I should inevitably feel in its utmost rigours, all that rage and barbarous zeal could infuse into the breasts of monks, who cruelly gloried in committing to the flames, those ill-fated victims, whose only crime was their differing from them in religious opinions; or rather, who were obnoxious to those tygers, merely because they thought worthily of human nature, and viewed with the utmost detestation, these Romish barbarities, unparalleled in any other religion.

Upon due reflection, I considered it incumbent on me to calm the tumult of my spirits, in order to prevent my falling into the snares which my judges would not fail to spread round me; either by giving them an opportunity of pronouncing me guilty, or by forcing me to apostatize from the religion in which I was born. I therefore devoted my whole thoughts to the means of my justification, and this I made so familiar to myself, that I was persuaded neither the partiality of my judges, nor the dreadful ideas I had entertained of their cruelty, could

intimidate me, when I should be brought before them; and which I accordingly was in a few days, after having been shaved, and had my hair cut by their order.

I was now led, bare-headed, to the president and four Inquisitors, who, upon my coming in, bid me kneel down, lay my right hand on the bible; and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I would speak truly with regard to all the questions they should ask me. These questions were, my christian and sir names; those of my parents; the place of my birth, my profession, religion, and the length of time I had resided in Lisbon. This being done, they addressed me as follows:—"Son, you have offended and spoke injuriously of the holy office, as we know from very good authority; for which reason we exhort you to make a confession of, and to accuse yourself of the several crimes you may have committed, from the time you was capable of judging between good and evil, to the present moment. In doing this, you will excite the compassion of this tribunal, which is ever merciful and kind to those who speak the truth."

It was then they thought proper to inform me, that the diamond mentioned in the former pages, was only a pretence they had employed, in order to get an opportunity of seizing me. I now besought them, "to let me know the true cause of my imprisonment; that, having been born and educated

in the protestant religion, I had been taught from my infancy, not to confess myself to men, but to God, who, as he only can see into the inmost recesses of the human heart, knows the sincerity or insincerity of the sinner's repentance, who confessed himself to him; and being his creator, it was he only could absolve him."

The reader will naturally suppose, that they were not satisfied with my answer; they declaring, "that it would be indispensably necessary for me to confess myself, what religion soever I might be of; otherwise, that a confession would be forced from me, by the expedients the holy office employed for that purpose."

To this I replied, "That I had never spoke in my life against the Romish religion; that I had behaved in such a manner, ever since my living at Lisbon, that I could not be justly accused of saying or doing any thing contrary to the laws of the kingdom, either as to spiritual or temporal concerns; that I had also imagined the holy office took cognizance of none but those persons who were guilty of sacrilege, blasphemy, and such like crimes, whose delight is to depreciate and ridicule the mysteries received in the Romish church, but of which I was not guilty." They then remanded me back to my dungeon, after exhorting me to examine my conscience.

Three days after, they sent for me, to interrogate me a second time. The first question they asked

me was, "whether I had carefully looked into my conscience pursuant to their injunction." I replied, "that after carefully reviewing all the past transactions of my life, I did not remember having said or done any thing that could justly give offence to the holy office; that from my most tender youth, my parents, who had been forced to quit France for their religion; and who knew, by sad experience, how highly it concerns every one that values his ease, never to converse on religious subjects, in certain countries; had advised me never to engage in disputes of this kind, since they usually embittered the minds of the contending parties, rather than reconciled them; farther, that I belonged to a society, composed of persons of different religions; one of the laws of which society expressly forbids its members ever to dispute on those subjects under a considerable penalty." As the Inquisitors confounded the word society with that of religion, I assured them "that this society could be considered as a religious one, no otherwise than as it obliged its several members to live together in charity and brotherly love, how widely soever they might differ in religious principles." They then inquired "what this society was called?" I replied, "that if they had ordered me to be seized, because I was one of its members, I would readily tell them its name; I thinking myself not a little honoured in belonging to a society, which boasted

several christian kings, princes, and persons of the highest quality amongst it members ; and that I had been frequently in company with some of the latter, as one of their brethren." Then one of the Inquisitors asked me, "whether the name of this society was a secret?" I answered, "that it was not; that I could tell it them in French or English, but was not able to translate it into Portuguese." Then all of them fixing on a sudden their eyes attentively on me, repeated alternately, the words free-mason, or franc-macon. From this instant I was firmly persuaded, that I had been imprisoned solely on account of masonry.

They afterwards asked, "what were the constitutions of this society?" I then set before them, as well as I could, "the ancient traditions relating to this noble art, of which (I told them) James VI. of Scotland,* had declared himself the protector, and encouraged his subjects to enter among the free-masons : that it appeared from authentic manuscripts, that the kings of Scotland had so great a regard for this honourable society, on account of the strong proofs its members had ever given of their fidelity and attachment; that those monarchs established the custom among the brethren, of saying, whenever they drank, *God preserve the king and the brotherhood;* that this example was soon follow-

* The constitutions of the free-masons, &c. for the use of the lodges, by Dr. Anderson. page 38, London, 1723. Some other passages here are taken from the same work.

ed by the Scotch nobility and the clergy, who had so high an esteem for the brotherhood, that most of them entered into the society.

" That it appeared from other traditions, that the kings of Scotland had frequently been grand masters of the free-masons; and that, when the kings were not such, the society were empowered to elect, as grand master, one of the nobles of the country, who had a pension from the sovereign; and received, at his election, a gift from every free-mason in Scotland."

I likewise told them, " that queen Elizabeth, ascending the throne of England, at a time that the kingdom was greatly divided by factions and clashing interests; and taking umbrage at the various assemblies of great numbers of her subjects, as not knowing the designs of those meetings, she resolved to suppress the assemblies of free-masons; however; that, before her majesty proceeded to this extremity, she commanded some of her subjects to enter into this society, among whom was the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of her kingdom; that these, obeying the queen's orders, gave her so very advantagous a character, of the fidelity of the free-masons, as removed at once, all her majesty's suspicions and political fears; so that the society have, ever since that time, enjoyed in Great-Britain, and the places subject to it, all the liberty they could wish for, and which they have never once abused."

They afterwards enquired, "what was the tendency of this society?"—I replied, "every freemason is obliged, at his admission, to take an oath on the holy gospel, that he will be faithful to the king; and never enter into any plot or conspiracy against his sacred person, or against the country where he resides; and that he will pay obedience to the magistrates appointed by the monarch."

I next declared, "that charity was the foundation, and the soul, as it were of the society; as it linked together the several individuals of it, by the tie of fraternal love; and made it an indispensable duty to assist, in the most charitable manner, without distinction of religion, all such necessitous persons as were found true objects of compassion." It was then they called me liar; declaring, "that it was impossible this society should profess the practice of such good maxims, and yet be so very jealous of its secrets as to exclude women from it." The judicious reader will perceive at once, the weakness of this inference, which perhaps would be found but too true, were it applied to the inviolable secresy observed by this pretended holy office, in all its actions.

They presently gave orders for my being conveyed into another deep dungeon; the design of which, I suppose, was to terrify me completely; and here I continued seven weeks. It will be naturally supposed that I was now overwhelmed with grief. I

will confess, that I then gave myself up entirely for lost; and had no resource left but in the Almighty, whose aid I implored continually with the utmost fervency. During my stay in this miserable dungeon, I was taken three times before the Inquisitors. The first thing they made me do was to swear on the bible, that I would not reveal the secrets of the Inquisition; but declare the truth with regard to all such questions as they should put to me. They added, "that it was their firm opinion that masonry could not be founded on such good principles as I, in my former interrogatories, had affirmed; and that if this society of free-masons was so virtuous as I pretended, there was no occasion for their concealing so industriously, the secrets of it."

I told them, "that a secresy * naturally excited

* One of the principal parts that makes a man be deemed wise, is his intelligent strength and ability to cover and conceal such honest secrets as are committed to him, as well as his own serious affairs. And whoever will peruse sacred and profane history, shall find a great number of virtuous attempts (in peace and war) that never reached their designed ends, through defect of secret concealment; and yet, besides such unhappy prevention, infinite evils have thereby ensued. But before all other examples, let us consider that which excels all the rest, derived even from God himself. Who so especially preserves his own secrets to himself, never letting any man know what should happen on the morrow; nor could the wise men in ages past, divine what should befall us in this age; whereby we may readily discern that God himself is well pleased with secresy. And although, for man's good, the Lord has been pleased to reveal some things, yet it is impossible at any time to change or alter his determination, in regard whereof, the reverend wise men of ancient times, evermore affected to perform their intentions secretly.

The Athenians had a statue of brass, which they bowed to; the figure was made without a tongue, to declare secresy thereby.

curiosity, this prompted great numbers of persons to enter into this society; that all the monies given by members at their admission therein, were employed in works of charity: that by the secrets which the several members practised, a true mason instantly knew whether a stranger, who would introduce himself into a lodge, was really a free-mason; that, was it not for such precautions, this society would form confused assemblies of all sorts of people, who as they were not obliged to pay obedience to the orders of the master of the lodge, it consequently would be impossible to keep them within the bounds of that decorum and good order,

The servants of Plancas are much commended, because no torment could make them confess the secret which their master entrusted them with.

Likewise the servant of Cato the orator, was cruelly tormented, but nothing could make him reveal the secrets of his master.

Aristorthe was demanded what thing appeared most difficult to him; he answered, to be secret and silent.

To this purpose, St. Ambrose, in his offices, placed among the principal foundations of virtue, the patient gift of silence.

The wise king Solomon, says in his proverbs, that a king ought not to drink wine, because drunkenness is an enemy to secresy; and in his opinion, he is not worthy to reign that cannot keep his own secrets; he furthermore says, that he who discovers secrets is a traitor, and he who conceals them is a faithful brother; he likewise says, that he that retraineth his tongue, keeps his soul.

Therefore I am of opinion, that if secresy and silence be duly considered, they will be found most necessary to qualify a man for any business of importance; if this be granted, I am confident that no man will dare to dispute that free-masons are superior to all other men, in concealing their secrets from time immemorial. The power of gold, that often has betrayed kings and princes, and sometimes overturned whole empires, nor the most cruel punishments, could never extort the secret even from the weakest member of the whole fraternity.

which are strictly observed upon certain penalties, by all free-masons.

"That the reason why women were excluded this society, was to take away all occasion for calumny and reproach, which would have been unavoidable, had they been admitted into it. Farther, that since women had in general, been always considered as not very well qualified to keep a secret: the founders of the society of free-masons, by their exclusion of the other sex, thereby gave a signal proof of their prudence and wisdom."

They then insisted upon my revealing to them the secrets of this art.—"The oath, (said I) taken by me at my admission, never to divulge them directly, or indirectly, will not permit me to do it: conscience forbids me; and I therefore hope your lordships are too equitable to use compulsion." They declared, "that my oath was as nothing in their presence, and that they would absolve me from it." "Your lordships, (continued I) are very gracious; but as I am firmly persuaded, that it is not in the power of any being upon earth to free me from my oath, I am firmly determined never to violate it." This was more than enough to make them remand me back to my dungeon, where, a few days after, I fell sick.

A physician was then sent, who finding me exceeding ill, made a report thereof to the Inquisitors. Upon being informed of it, they immediately gave

orders for my being removed from this frightful dungeon into another, which admitted some glimmerings of day light. They appointed at the same time another prisoner to look after me during my sickness, which, very happily, was not of long continuance.

Being recovered, I was again taken before the Inquisitors, who asked me several new questions with regard to the secrets of free masonry; "whether since my abode in Lisbon, I had received any Portuguese into the society ?"—I replied, "that I had not: that it was true, indeed, that Don Emanuel de Sousa, Lord of Calliaris, and captain of the German Guards, hearing that the person was at Lisbon, who had made the Duke de Villeroy a free-mason by order of the French king Louis XV. had desired Mr. de Chavigny, at that time minister of France at the Portuguese court, to inquire for me; but that, upon my being told that the king of Portugal would not permit any of his subjects to be free-masons, I had desired two of the brethren to wait on Mr. de Calliatis above mentioned, and acquaint him with my fears; and to assure him at the same time, that, in case he could obtain the king's leave, I was ready to receive him into the brotherhood; I being resolved not to do any thing which might draw upon me the indignation of his Portuguese majesty: that Mr. Calliaris having a very strong desire to enter into our society, declared,

that there was nothing in what I had observed with regard to his majesty's prohibition; it being (added this nobleman) unworthy the regal dignity, to concern itself with such trifles. However, being certain that I spoke from very good authority; and knowing that Mr. de Calliaris was a nobleman of great economy: I found no other expedient, to disengage myself from him than by asking fifty moidores for his reception; a demand which, I was persuaded, would soon lessen, or rather suppress at once, the violent desire he might have to enter into the society of free-masons."

To this one of the Inquisitors said, "that it was not only true that his Portuguese majesty had forbid any of his subjects to be made free-masons; but that there had been fixed up, five years before, upon the doors of all the churches in Lisbon, an order from his holiness, strictly enjoining the Portuguese in general, not to enter iuto this society; and even excommunicate all such as were then, or should afterwards become members of it."—Here I besought them to consider, "that if I had committed any offence in practising masonry at Lisbon, it was merely through ignorance; I having resided but two years in Portugal: that, farther, the circumstance just now mentioned by them, entirely destroyed the charge brought against me, viz. of my being the person who had introduced free-masonry in Portugal.—They answered, "that as I

was one of the most zealous partizans of this society, I could not but have heard during my abode in Lisbon, the orders issued by the holy father." I silenced them by "the comparison I made between myself and a traveller, who, going to their capital city, and spying two roads leading to it, one of which was expressly forbid upon pain of the severest punishment, to strangers, though without any indication or tokens being set up for this purpose; that this stranger should thereby strike accidentally, merely through ignorance, into the forbidden road."

They afterwards charged me with "drawing away Roman Catholics, of other nations, residing in Lisbon." I represented to them, "that Roman Catholics must sooner be informed of the pope's injunction than I, who was a protestant: that I was firmly of opinion, that the severe orders issued by the Roman pontiff, had not a little prompted many to enter among the free-masons: that a man, who was looked upon as a heretic, was not qualified to win over persons who considered him as such: that a free-mason, who professed the Romish religion, was I presumed the only man fit to seduce and draw away others of the same persuasion with himself; to get into their confidence; and remove successfully such scruples as might arise in their minds, both with regard to the injurious reports spread concerning masonry, and to the pope's ex-

communication; of which a vile heretic entertained an idea far different from that of the Romanists. They then sent me back to my dungeon.

Being again ordered to be brought before the Inquisitors, they insisted upon my letting them into the secrets of masonry; threatening me, in case I did not comply.—I persisted, as before, "in refusing to break my oath; and besought them, either to write, or give orders for writing, to his Portuguese majesty's ministers both at London and Paris, to know from them, whether any thing was ever done in the assembly of the free-masons, repugnant to decency and morality; to the dictates of the Romish faith, or to the obedience which every good Christian owes to the injunctions of the monarch in whose dominions he lives." I observed farther, "that the king of France, who is the eldest son of the church, and despotic in his dominions, would not have bid his favourite enter into a society proscribed by the mother church; had he not been persuaded that nothing was transacted in their meetings, contrary to the state, to religion, and to the church." I afterwards referred them to Mr. Dogwood, an Englishman, who was born a Roman Catholic, and was a free-mason. This gentleman had travelled with, and was greatly beloved by Don Pedro Antonio, the king's favourite; and who, "having settled a lodge at Lisbon fifteen years before, could acquaint them, in case he thought

proper, with the nature and secrets of masonry." The Inquisitors commanded me to be taken back to my dismal abode.

Appearing again before them, they did not once mention the secrets of masonry ; but took notice that I, in one of my examinations had said, "that it was a duty incumbent on free-masons to assist the needy;" upon which they aked, "whether I had ever relieved a poor object ?" I named to them a lying-in-woman, a Romanist, who being reduced to the extremes of misery, and hearing that the free-masons were very liberal of their alms, she addressed herself to me, and I gave her a moidore. I added, "that the convent of the Franciscans having been burnt down, the fathers made a gathering, and I gave them, upon the exchange, three quarters of a moidore." I declared, farther, "that a poor Roman Catholic, who had a large family, and could get no work, being in the utmost distress, had been recommended to me by some free-masons ; with a request that we would make a purse among ourselves, in order to set him up again, and thereby enable him to support his family : that accordingly we raised among seven of us who were free-masons, ten moidores ; which money I myself put into his ha nds."

They then asked me, "whether I had given my own money in alms?" I replied, "that these arose from the forfeits of such free-masons as had

not attended properly the meetings of the brotherhood." "What are the faults (said they) committed by your brother masons, which occasion their being fined." "Those who take the name of God in vain, pay the quarter of a moidore ; such as utter any other oath, or pronounce obscene words, forfeit a new crusade ;* all who are turbulent, or refuse to obey the orders of the master of the lodge, are likewise fined." They remanded me back to my dungeon, having first inquired the name and habitation of the several persons hinted at ; on which occasion I assured them that the last mentioned was not a free-mason ; and that the brethren assisted indiscriminately all sorts of people, provided they were real objects of charity."

I naturally concluded, from the behaviour of the Inquisitors, at my being brought before them four days after, that they had inquired into the truth of the several particulars related before. They now did not say a word concerning masonry, but began to work with different engines.

They then employed all the powers of their rhetoric to prove, "that it became me to consider my imprisonment by order of the holy office as an effect of the goodness of God, who (added they) intended to bring me to a serious way of thinking: and, by this means, lead me into the paths of truth, that I

*A new crusade is 55 cents.

might labour efficaciously for the salvation of my soul. That I ought to know that Jesus Christ had said to Peter—*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it ;* whence it was my duty to obey the injunctions of his holiness, he being St. Peter's successor." I replied with spirit and resolution, " that I did not acknowledge the Roman pontiff, either as successor to St. Peter, or as infallible : that I relied entirely, with regard to doctrine, on the holy scriptures, these being the sole guide of our faith. I besought them to let me enjoy undisturbed, the privileges allowed the English in Portugal : that I was resolved to live and die in the communion of the church of England : and that therefore all the pains they might take to make a convert of me, would be ineffectual."

Notwithstanding the repeated declarations made by me, that I would never change my religion, the Inquisitors were as urgent as ever. They offered to send some English friars tome, who, they said, would instruct me ; and so fully open my eyes, that I should have a distinct view of my wretched condition, which, they declared, was the more deplorable, as I was now wholly insensible of its danger.

Finding me still immoveable, and that there was no possibility of their making the least impression on me ; the indulgence which they showed at the beginning of my examination, was suddenly chan-

ged to fury; they venting the most injurious expressions, "calling me heretic, and saying that I was damned." Here I could not forbear replying, "that I was no heretic; but would prove, on the contrary, that they themselves were in an error," and now raising their voice; "take care, cried they, with a tone of authority, what you say." "I advance nothing replied I, but what I am able to prove. Do you believe continued I, that the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, as found in the New-Testament, are true?" They answered in the affirmative. "But what inference, said they, do you draw from thence?" "Be so good, added I, as to let me have a bible, and I will inform you concerning this." I then laid before them the passage where our Saviour says thus: *Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me.* Likewise the following: *We also have a more sure word of prophesy; whereunto ye do well that you take heed;* and yet says I, "both the pope and your lordships forbid the perusal of them; and thereby act in direct opposition to the express command of the Saviour of the world." To this the Inquisitors replied, that I ought to call to mind, "that our Saviour says to St. Peter, and in his name, to all the popes his successors, *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt*

loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. That none but a heretic, like myself, would dare to dispute the authority and infallibility of the pope, who is Christ's vicar here below; that the reason of not allowing the perusal of this book was, to prevent the common people from explaining the obscure passages contained therein, contrary to their true sense; as was daily the practice of schismatics and heretics like myself." I shall omit the other controversial points that afterwards occurred, all which I answered to the best of my slender abilities.

One thing I can assure my reader is, that the Inquisitors were not able to alter, in any manner, the firm resolution I had taken, to live and die a protestant: on the contrary, I can affirm, that their remonstrances, and even menaces, served only to strengthen my resistance; and furnish me with abundant proofs to refute with vigour, all the arguments offered by them.

I acknowledge that I owe this wholly to the divine goodness, which graciously condescended to support me under these violent trials, and enabled me to persevere to the end; for this I return unfeigned thanks to the Almighty; and hope to give, during the remainder of my life, convincing testimonies of the strong impression which those trials made on my mind, by devoting myself sincerely to the duties of religion.

I was ordered back by the Inquisitors, to my dis-

mal abode; after they had declared to me, "that if I turned Roman Catholic, it would be of great advantage to my cause; otherwise that I perhaps might repent of my obstinacy when it was too late." I replied in a respectful manner, that I could not accept of their offers.

A few days after, I was again brought before the president of the holy office, who said, "that the proctor would read, in the presence of the court, the heads of the indictment or charge brought against me." The Inquisitors now offered me a counsellor, in case I desired one, to plead my cause.

Being sensible that the person whom they would send me for this purpose, was himself an Inquisitor, I chose rather to make my own defence, in the best manner I could. I therefore desired that leave might be granted me to deliver my defence in writing; but this they refused, saying, "hat the holy office did not allow prisoners the use of pen, ink, and paper." I then begged they would permit me to dictate my justification in their presence, to any person whom they should appoint; which favor was granted to me.

The heads of the charge or indictment brought against me, were; "*That I had infringed the pope's orders, by my belonging to the sect of the free-masons; this sect being a horrid compound of sacrilege, sodomy, and many other abominable crimes: of which the inviolable secrecy observed therein, and the*

exclusion of women, were but too manifest indications: a circumstance that gave the highest offence to the whole kingdom; and the said Coustos having refused to discover to the Inquisitors the true tendency and design of the meetings of free-masons: and persisting, on the contrary, in asserting, that free-masonry was good in itself: wherefore the proctor of the Inquisition requires that the said prisoner may be prosecuted with the utmost rigour, and for this purpose, desires the court would exert its whole authority, and even proceed to tortures, to extort from him a confession, viz. that the several articles of which he stands accused are true."

The Inquisitors then gave me the above heads, ordering me to sign them, which I absolutely refused. They thereupon commanded me to be taken back to my dungeon, without permitting me to say a single word in my justification.

I now had but too much leisure to reflect on their menaces; and to cast about for answers to the several articles concerning masonry, whereof I stood accused; all which articles I remembered but too well.

Six weeks after, I appeared in presence of two Inquisitors, and the person whom they had appointed to take down my defence; which was little more than a recapitulation of what I before had asserted with regard to masonry.

"Your prisoner (said I to them,) is deeply afflic-

ted, and touched to the soul, to find himself accused, by the ignorance or malice of his enemies, in an infernal charge or indictment, before the lords of the holy office, for having practised the art of free-masonry, which has been, and is still, revered, not only by a considerable number of persons of the highest quality in Christendom; but likewise by several sovereign princes and crowned heads, who, so far from disdaining to become members of this society, submitted, engaged and obliged themselves, at their admission, to observe religiously, the constitutions of this noble art; noble not only on account of the almost infinite number of illustrious personages who profess it; but still more so from the sentiments of humanity with which it equally inspires the rich and poor, the nobleman and artificer, the prince and subject: for these, when met together, are upon a level as to rank; are all brethren, and conspicuous only from their superiority in virtue: in fine, this art is noble, from the charity which the society of free-masons professedly exercises; and from the fraternal love with which it strongly binds and cements together the several individuals who compose it, without any distinction as to religion or birth.

"Your prisoner thinks it very hard to find himself thus become the victim of this tribunal, merely because he belongs to so venerable a society. The rank and exalted dignity of many who have been

and still are members thereof, should be considered as faithful and speaking witnesses, now pleading in his defence, as well as in that of the brotherhood, so unjustly accused."

"Farther; could any one suppose, without showing the greatest rashness, or being guilty of the highest injustice; that christian princes, who are Christ's vicegerents upon earth, would not only tolerate in their dominions, a sect that should favour the abominable crimes of which this tribunal accuses it; but even be accomplices therein, by their entering into the society in question.

"What I have said above, should be more than sufficient to convince your lordships, that you are quite misinformed as to masonry; and oblige you to stop all prosecution against me. However, I will here add some remarks, in order to corroborate my former assertions; and destroy the bad impressions that may have been made on your lordship's minds concerning free-masonry.

"The very strict inquiry made into the past life and conduct of all persons that desire to be received among the brotherhood; and who are never admitted, except the strongest and most indisputable testimonies are given, of their having lived irreproachably; are farther indications, that this society is not guilty of the crimes with which it is charged by your tribunal; the utmost precautions being taken to ex-

pel from this society, not only wicked but even disorderly persons.

"The works of charity, which the brotherhood think it incumbent on themselves to exercise, towards such as are real objects of compassion, and whereof I have given your lordships some few instances; show likewise, that it is morally impossible for a society, so execrable as you have described that of the free-masons to be, to practice a virtue so generally neglected; and so opposite to the love of riches, at this time the predominant vice, the root of all evil.

"Besides, wicked and disorderly people set all laws at defiance; despise kings, and the magistrates established by them for the due administration of justice. Abandoned men, such as those hinted at here, foment insurrections and rebellions; whereas free masons pay an awful regard to the prince in whose dominions they live; yield implicit obedience to his laws; and revere in the magistrates, the sacred person of the king, by whom they were nominated; rooting up, to the utmost of their power, every seed of sedition and rebellion: and being ready, at all times, to venture their lives, for the security both of the prince, and of his government.

Wicked people, when assembled together, not only take perpetually the name of God in vain; but blaspheme and deny him: wheras free-masons

punish very severely, not only swearers, but likewise such as utter obscene words: and expel from their society, all persons hardened in those vices.

"Wicked people contemn religion of every kind; turn it into ridicule, and speak in terms unworthy of the deity worshipped in them. But those free-masons who act according to the spirit of their profession, on the contrary observing a respectful silence on this occasion, never quarrel with the religious principles of any person; but live together in fraternal love, which a difference of opinion cannot lessen." I closed my defence with the four lines following, composed by a free-mason:

Through trackless paths each brother strays,
And nothing selfish can entice;
Now temples, we to Virtue raise;
Now dungeons sink to conquer Vice.

To which I might have added,

But here the opposite is found;
Injustice reigns, and killing dread;
In rankling chains bright Virtue's bound,
And Vice, with triumph lifts its head.

"Such, my lords, (continued I) are our true and genuine secrets. I now wait, with all possible resignation, for whatever you shall think proper to decree; but still hope, from your equity and justice, that you will not pass sentence upon me, as

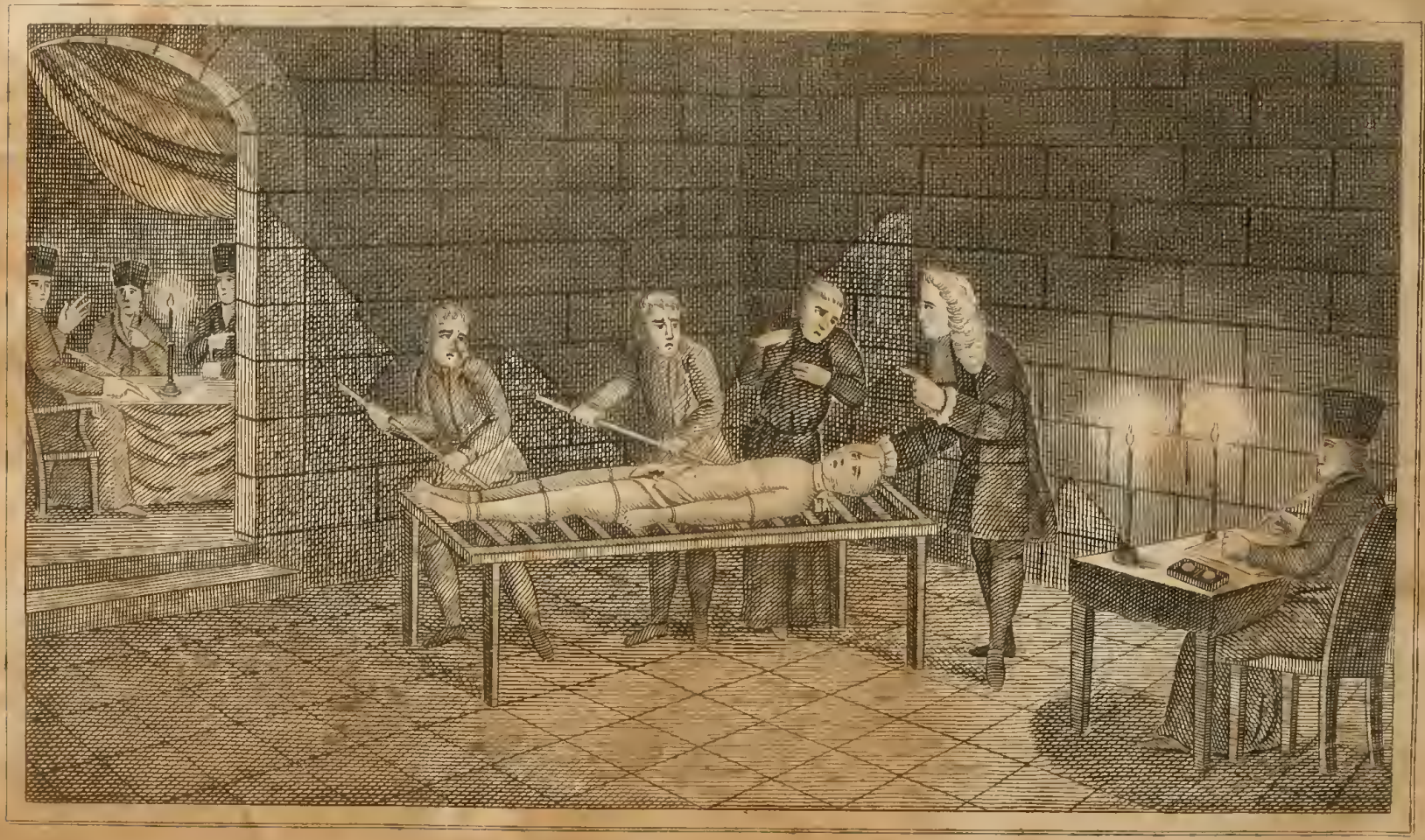
though I was guilty of the crimes mentioned in the indictment, upon the vain pretence, that inviolable secrecy can be observed in such things only as are of a criminal nature."

I was remanded back to my usual scene of woe, without being able to imagine what impression my defence might have made on my judges. A few days after, I was brought before his eminence Cardinal da Cunha, Inquisitor and director general of all the Inquisitions dependent on the Portuguese monarchy.

The president, directing himself to me declared, that the holy tribunal was assembled, purposely to hear and determine my cause: that I therefore should examine my own mind; and see whether I had no other arguments to offer in my justification. I replied, "that I had none; but relied wholly on their rectitude and equity." Having spoke these words, they sent me back to my sad abode, and judged me among themselves.

Some time after, the president sent for me again; when being brought before him, he ordered a paper, containing part of my sentence, to be read. I thereby was doomed to suffer the tortures employed by the holy office, for refusing to tell the truth, as they falsely affirmed, for not discovering the secrets of masonry, with the true tendency and purpose of the meetings of the brethren.

I hereupon was instantly conveyed to the torture-



room, built in form of a square tower, where no light appeared, but what two candles gave : and to prevent the dreadful cries and shocking groans of the unhappy victims from reaching the ears of the other prisoners, the doors are lined with a sort of quilt.

The reader will naturally suppose that I must be seized with horror, when, at my entering this infernal place, I saw myself, on a sudden, surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped me naked, (all to linen drawers,) when, laying me on my back, they began to lay hold of every part of my body. First, they put round my neck an iron collar, which was fastened to the scaffold; they then fixed a ring to each foot; and this being done, they stretched my limbs with all their might. They next wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh, which ropes passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, and were all drawn tight at the same time, by four men, upon a signal made for this purpose.

The reader will believe that my pains must be intolerable, when I solemnly declare, that these ropes, which were of the size of one's little finger, pierced through my flesh quite to the bone; making the blood gush out at the eight different places that were thus bound. As I persisted in refusing to discover any more than what has been seen in the interrogatories above; the ropes were thus drawn to-

gether four different times. At my side stood a physician and a surgeon, who often felt my temples, to judge of the danger I might be in; by which means my tortures were suspended, at intervals, that I might have an opportunity of recovering myself a little.

Whilst I was thus suffering, they were so barbarously unjust as to declare, that were I to die under the torture, I should be guilty, by my obstinacy, of self-murder. In fine, the last time the ropes were drawn tight, I grew so exceedingly weak, occasioned by the blood's circulation being stopped, and the pains I endured, that I fainted quite away; insomuch that I was carried back to my dungeon, without perceiving it.

These barbarians finding that the tortures above described could not extort any further discovery from me; but that the more they made me suffer, the more fervently I addressed my supplications, for patience, to heaven; they were so inhuman six weeks after, as to expose me to another kind of torture, more grievous, if possible, than the former. They made me stretch my arms in such a manner, that the palms of my hands were turned outward; when by the help of a rope that fastened them together at the wrist, and which they turned by an engine; they drew them gently nearer to one another behind, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and stood exactly parallel one to the

other; whereby both my shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from my mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which I was again taken to my dungeon, and put into the hands of physicians and surgeons, who, in setting my bones, put me to exquisite pain.

Two months after, being a little recovered, I was again conveyed to the torture-room; and there made to undergo another kind of punishment twice. The reader may judge of its horror, from the following description thereof.

The torturers turned twice round my body a thick iron chain, which, crossing upon my stomach, terminated afterwards at my wrists. They next set my back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope, that catched the ends of the chains at my wrists. The tormentors then stretched these ropes, by means of a roller, pressed or bruised my stomach, in proportion as the ropes were drawn tighter. They tortured me on this occasion to such a degree, that my wrists and shoulders were put out of joint.

The surgeons, however, set them presently after; but the barbarians not having yet satiated their cruelty, made me undergo this torture a second time, which I did with fresh pains, though with equal constancy and resolution. I was then re-

manded back to my dungeon, attended by the surgeons who dressed my bruises; and here I continued till their Auto da Fe, or gaol delivery.

The reader may judge from the faint description, of the dreadful anguish I must have laboured under, the nine different times they put me to the torture. Most of my limbs were put out of joint, and bruised in such a manner, that I was unable, during some weeks, to lift my hand to my mouth; my body being vastly swelled, by the inflamations caused by the frequent dislocations. I have but too much reason to fear, that I shall feel the sad effects of this cruelty so long as I live; being seized from time to time with thrilling pains, with which I never was afflicted, till I had the misfortune to fall into the merciless and bloody hands of the Inquisitors.

The day of the Auto da Fe being come, I was made to walk in the procession, with the other victims of this tribunal. Being come to St. Dominic's church, my senntence was read, by which I was condemned to the galley (as they term it) during four years.

Four days after this procession, I was conveyed to this galley; and joined, on the morrow, in the painful occupation of my fellow slaves. However, the liberty I had of speaking to my friends, after having been deprived of even the sight of them, during my tedious, wretched abode in the prison of the Inquisition; the open air I now breathed; with

the satisfaction I felt in being freed from the dreadful apprehensions which always overspread my mind, whenever I reflected on the uncertainty of my fate; these circumstances united, made me find the toils of the galley much more supportable.

As I had suffered greatly in my body, by the tortures inflicted on me in the prison of the Inquisition, of which the reader has seen a very imperfect, though faithful narrative, in the foregoing sheets; I was quite unfit to go about the painful labour that was immediately allotted me, viz. the carrying water (an hundred pounds weight) to the prisons of the city. But the fears I was under, of being exposed to the inhumanity of the guards or overseers who accompany the galley slaves, caused me to exert myself so far beyond my strength, that, twelve days after, I fell grievously sick. I was sent to the Infirmary, where I continued two months. During my abode in this place, I was often visited by the Irish friars belonging to the convent of Corpo Santo, who offered to get my release, provided I would turn Roman Catholic. I assured them, that all their endeavours would be fruitless; I expecting my enlargement from the Almighty alone, who, if He, in his profound wisdom thought proper, would point out other expedients for my obtaining it, than my becoming an apostate.

Being unable, after this, to go through the toils to which I had been sentenced, I was excused, by my

amply rewarding the overseers. It was now that I had full leisure, to reflect seriously on the means of obtaining my liberty; and, for this purpose, desired a friend to write to my brother-in-law, Mr. Barbu, to inform him of my deplorable state; and to intreat him, humbly to address the earl of Harrington in my favour; my brother-in-law having the honour to live in his lordship's family. This nobleman, whose humanity and generosity have been the theme of infinitely more able pens than mine, was so good as to endeavour to procure my freedom. Accordingly, his lordship spoke to his grace the duke of Newcastle, one of the principal secretaries of state; with a view to supplicate for leave, from our sovereign, that his minister at Lisbon might demand me, as a subject of Great-Britain.

His Majesty interposing in my favour, and his commands being dispatched to Mr. Compton, the British minister at Lisbon, that gentleman demanded my liberty of the king of Portugal, in his Britanic majesty's name; which I accordingly obtained the latter end of October, 1744. The person who came and released me from the galley, by order of the Inquisitors, took me before them. The president then told me, that Cardinal da Cunha had given orders for my being released. At the same time, he bid me return to the holy office in three or four days.

I could perceive, during this interval, that I was

followed by the spies of the Inquisition, who kept a watchful eye over my behaviour, and the places I frequented. I waited upon our envoy, as likewise upon our consul, whom I informed of the commands which had been laid upon me at the Inquisition; and those gentlemen advised me to obey them. They cautioned me, however, to take a friend with me, for the purpose of giving them notice, should I be seized again. Accordingly I returned to the Inquisitors five days after, when the president declared; "that the tribunal would not permit me to continue any longer in Portugal; and therefore that I must name the city and kingdom whither I intended to retire." I replied, "that as my family was now in London, I design to go thither as soon as possible." They then bid me embark in the first ship that should sail for England; adding, that the instant I had found one, I must inform them of the day and hour I intended to go on board, together with the captain's name, and that of his ship.

A report prevailed some days after, that one of the persons seized by the Inquisition for free-masonry, and who obtained his liberty by turning Roman Catholic, had been so indiscreet as to divulge the cruelties exercised in this tribunal.

I now imagined that prudence required me to secure myself from a second persecution. As there was, at this time, no English ship in the port of Lis-

bon, I waited upon Mr. Vantil, the resident of Holland, and besought him to speak to the Dutch admiral to admit me on board his fleet. The resident, touched with my calamities, hinted my request to the admiral, who generously complied with it. I then went, together with a friend, and informed the Inquisitor, that I designed to embark for England, in the Damietta, commanded by vice admiral Cornelius Screiver, who was to sail in a few days. Upon the Inquisitor's inquiring the exact time when I intended to go on board; I replied, at nine o'clock the next morning. He then bid me come to him precisely at that hour; adding, that he would send some officers of the Inquisition to see me on shipboard.

These orders giving me great uneasiness, I waited upon the several gentlemen above mentioned: when telling them the injunctions laid upon me, they advised me to act very cautiously on this occasion. I therefore thought it would be safest for me to go on board immediately, without giving any notice of it to the Inquisitors. We lay at anchor, after this, near three weeks before Lisbon.

The Inquisitor no sooner found that I failed coming to him at the time appointed, in order to be conducted to the ship, than he sent out about fifty spies. Nine of these coming to inquire after me, at the house where I used to lodge, searched it from top to bottom; examining every trunk,

chest of drawers and closet. But their endeavours to find me being fruitless, some of the officers of the Inquisition getting into a boat, rowed several times round the three Dutch men of war lying at anchor. These officers imagined, that if I was on board, and consequently in a place of security, I should not be afraid of showing myself; a circumstance that would have put an end to their search, which cost them some pains and expense. As I did not gratify their curiosity, and we weighed anchor a few days after, I know not whether they continued it.

Their search was so open, both at the house where I lodged, as well as at other places, that I was soon informed of it; at which I should have been delighted, had not my joy been damped by the apprehension I was under, lest my dear friend, Mr. Mouton, the companion of my sufferings and tortures, merely on account of free-masonry, should likewise fall a victim to their barbarity. Speaking concerning him to the admiral, he with the utmost humanity, gave me leave to send for him on board. He coming accordingly next day, was received, with great satisfaction, by the whole ship's company, especially by myself, I having a peculiar esteem for him, which I shall ever entertain.

We set sail two days after. We had occasion to observe, during our whole voyage, the true pleasure which a generous mind feels, in doing a hu-

mane action, and in protecting the unhappy. This was particularly conspicuous in the admiral, he ordering the utmost care to be taken of us, all the time we were on board his ship; he sometimes condescending to admit us to his table, when he would talk to us with the utmost familiarity. This distinction won us the civility of every person in the ship, which continued till our arrival at Portsmouth, where we landed; without having been put to a farthing's expense, during the whole voyage.

All these favours, so generously bestowed by the admiral, call aloud for the strongest acknowledgments of gratitude.

To conclude, I arrived in London the 15th of December, 1744, after a long and dangerous voyage.

I here return thanks, with all the powers of my soul, to the Aimighty, for his having so visibly protected me from that infernal band of friars, who employed the various tortures mentioned in the former pages, in order to force me to apostatize from my holy religion.

I return our sovereign King George II. (the instrument under heaven for procuring me my liberty) the most dutiful and most respectful thanks, for his so graciously condescending to interpose in favour of an ill-fated galley slave. I shall retain, so long as I have breath, the deepest sensations of affection and loyalty for his sacred person; and will be ever ready to expose my life, for his majesty and his most august family.

ORIGIN

OF THE

INQUISITION,

AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

THE Roman pontiffs employed every expedient, and set every engine at work (among which none has served their purpose better than religion) for the purpose of increasing their authority. Pretending to be the successors of St. Peter, they ascribe to themselves characteristics of holiness superior even to that of the apostles; and were so extravagant as to boast of being infallible. Monarchs, infatuated with this pretended sanctity of the popes, whom they considered as deities upon earth, and dispensers of celestial blessings, strove to rival one another in bestowing territories upon these pontiffs, in hopes of obtaining their favour; adding such extensive privileges, that they became at last, the arbiters of crowned heads, who did not discover, till it was too late, that they themselves had become slaves to papal authority.

Some of these princes being oppressed with the weight of their chains, and desirous of throwing them off, resisted the will of the holy father, and

thereupon were declared heretics, and excommunicated.—Nor did the popes stop here; for if the kings persisted in their obstinacy, they were dethroned, and their dominions given to others, who readily offered to pay the obedience claimed by the see of Rome.

"The emperors, jealous to see the Roman pontiffs and their adherents, extending their authority so far beyond its just limits, did all that lay in their power to restrain and reduce it within narrow bounds. About the middle of the eleventh century there broke out violent contests between them, which raged about fifty years.

The emperors and popes being thus exasperated against each other, no longer acted in concert, to suppress heresy; so that these commotions gave occasion to the starting up of several new heresiarchs. Hitherto the latter had opposed only the mysteries; but now, leaving them, they attacked morality and discipline, and especially the papal authority. This was more than sufficient to open the eyes of the court of Rome, with regard to the danger which threatened it, in case a speedy remedy should not be found, to check these heretics, before the contagion was become general; under favour of the disputes subsisting between the emperor and the pope."

But as these heretics, or rather enemies of the pontifical authority of Rome, were exceedingly nu-

merous; not to mention their being supported, clandestinely, by kings; the popes were forced at first, to wink at, and even tolerate them, till such time as an opportunity might offer, for suppressing, or rather rooting them out. For this reason, the Roman pontiffs now contented themselves with writing often to the princes, magistrates and bishops; exhorting them to exert their utmost endeavours, to extirpate the enemies of the see of Rome. However, princes and magistrates took litlte pains to check them; whether it were that they did not care to sacrifice a people who were of so much use to them, in restraining the papal authority, and increasing their own; or, whether they did not think them so criminal as the popes pretended; or whether politics, which often vary according to times and interests, caused them to consider these heretics as persons whom it was incumbent on them to tolerate, for their own advantage.

The bishops, either through indolence or because they had not sufficient strength to oppose the stream, were equally unsuccessful, whereby heretics became so powerful, that at length, they were able to make head against the see of Rome.

The Arnaldists* who were among these, reduced

*So called from Arnaldus of Brescia, an heretic in the 12th century. He inveighed against the temporalities of the church, and even against baptism and the Lord's supper. This heresiarch, after exciting troubles in Brescia and Rome, was hanged in the latter city, A. D. 1155, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber. The followers of Anthony Arnauld (the Jansenists) were also named Arnaldists.

the popes to the greatest distresses ; forcing them, more than once, to quit Rome, and to seek an asylum elsewhere, to secure themselves from their fury.

The Waldenses and Albigenses, (people of France) rising up after them, were no less enemies to the authority usurped by the Roman pontiff, nor less zealous in attacking it : and the protection indulged those people by Raymond Count de Toulouse, and by Counts de Foix and de Comminges, caused them to be still more enterprising and more formidable.

Pope Innocent III. a man of great spirit, and fortunate in his enterprizes, formed a design of promulgating a crusade* against them, which had been of such vast service to his predecessors, with a view of increasing their authority ; but he thought it necessary, before he carried things to extremities, to

*The crusades were military expeditions, established against the infidels, and first preached by Peter the hermit. Though the glory of God was the pretended motive of them, yet many went merely out of venal views, and others through fear of being reproached with cowardice. Such as designed to enlist among the crusades, distinguished themselves from other people, by wearing crosses of different colours on their clothes, according to their nation : the crosses of the English being white ; of the French, red : of the Germans, black, &c. Eight crusades were undertaken for the conquest of the Holy Land : the first A. D. 1095, in the council of Clermont ; and the last, under St. Lewis of France, A. D. 1288. The Cistercians first formed the plan of these crusades. A history in French, of the crusade against the Albigenses, was published at Roan, in 1703. About the middle of the 12th century, a crusade of Saxons was established against the heathens of the north. Religion was as much a fashion in these dark times, as cloathes, &c.

have recourse to gentle methods. For this purpose, he sent into Languedoc, missionaries, at whose head were Dominic, a native of Old Castle, who had lately founded an order of friars, called from his name; together with the blessed Peter of Chateauncuf (as he is termed by the Romanist) who was butchered at Toulouse, anno 1200. And now the pope, resolving to employ temporal weapons against them, published a crusade, whereby indulgences were granted to all such as should take up arms, or furnish monies, &c. for assisting this enterprise against the Mahommedans; for thus he called those people, to inflame still more the crusaders against them.* The papal arms being successful, Raymund submitted himself (about the year 1209, and gave as a pledge of his word, seven of the chief towns in Province and Langueodoc. On this occasion several cities were taken, and the most shocking cruelties practised; numberless multitudes of the inhabitants being put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. Counts de Foix, de Comminges, and de Beziere, afterwards followed the example of Raymund. Count Simon de Montford, general of the church, signalized himself but too much at the head of these crusaders.

The origin of the Inquisition is thus related, by Fleury, in his ecclesiastical history.

*This Innocent having been a famous lawyer, he by a quirk, pronounced these heretics to be Mahommedans, viz. because both were enemies to the church.

"In 1198, Innocent III. sent into the southern provinces of France, two Cistercian monks, Reinier and Gui, to convert the Manichees, with which those parts swarmed: to excommunicate the obstinate; and to command the lords to confiscate the possessions of the excommunicated; to banish them and punish them with severity; empowering, at the same time, Reiner to force the lords likewise; to excommunicate them, and put their lands under sequestration. These commissioners, thus sent against the heretics, were afterwards called Inquisitors." The Jesuits of Trevoux observe, that "the council of Narbonne, held in 1235, and that of Beziers in 1246, gave the Dominicians (Inquisitors) in the provinces of Arles, of Aix, of Embrum, and Vienne, a rule of ordinance, consisting of thirty-seven articles, and these were the basis of the procedures which have been observed, since that time, in the tribunals of the Inquisition.

Some imagine that they find the origin of the Inquisition, in a constitution made by pope Lucius, in the council of Verona, anno 1184; because that he commands bishops to examine personally, or by commissioners, people suspected of heresy; distinguishes the various degrees of persons suspected, convicted, penitent, or relapsed, for all whom different punishments are enacted; and that, after the church has employed, against criminals, spiritual weapons, it delivers them over to the secular arm,

for corporeal punishments to be inflicted on them; experience having shown, (says my Romish author) that several christians, and particularly the new heretics of this age, little regarded ecclesiastical censures, and despised these spiritual punishments. What blessed times were these, when ignorance, superstition, and tyranny swayed the earth!

DAWN OF

THE INQUISITION IN FRANCE,

WITH THE FARTHER CONTESTS BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND POPES.

THIS open war against the Albigenses and Waldenses, was followed by the establishment of the Inquisition, which completed the destruction of the unhappy people in question. It had been founded, a little before, by pope Innocent III. under the direction of Dominic, upon whom the title of saint was bestowed.

This pope, reflecting that what open force soever might be exerted against them, still vast numbers would carry on their worship in private, thought it necessary to establish a standing and perpetual remedy; that is, a tribunal composed of men, whose sole occupation should be the searching after, and punishing heretics. This tribunal was named, "The Inquisition," and Dominic was the first Inquisitor.

Dominic having been sent, as was observed, to Toulouse, to convert the heretics, took up his residence at the house of a nobleman of this city, infected with heresy. However, our missionary found

means to bring him back to the church; after which the nobleman devoted his house, with his family, to St. Dominic and his order. The tribunal of the Inquisition was established in this place, which is still called "The house of the Inquisition."

It may hence be concluded, that Dominic was the first Inquisitor, and Toulouse the first city where the Inquisition was settled. Some say that it was in 1208, and others in 1212, or 1215; but whichsoever may be the true æra, is of no great consequence.

These Inquisitors had, at first no particular tribunal, their function being only to inquire or search after heretics (whence the former received their name) to examine into their number, strength and riches; which being done, they made a report thereof to the bishops, who, as yet, were the only persons authorized to take cognizance of spiritual matters. On these occasions, the Inquisitors urged the prelates to excommunicate and punish all heretics who should be impeached.

Pope Innocent being dissatisfied with the indolence of the bishops, and their officials (judges) whose zeal he thought much too lukewarm against heretics; imagined he perceived, in the Dominican and Franciscan friars, whose orders were but lately founded, all the qualities requisite for directing this new establishment. The monks of those orders were fired with an implicit and boundless zeal for

the court of Rome, and wholly devoted to its interests. They had full leisure to pursue that glorious work, as this would be their only business. They were descended from the dregs of the people; and had no kindred, as it were, or any other tie which might check the rigours of this tribunal; they were severe and inflexible; the solitude and austere life professed by them, and of which they seemed already tired; the meanness of their dress and monasteries, so widely different from their present state; and especially the humility and mendicant life to which they, perhaps, had too heedlessly devoted themselves; rendered them exceedingly fit for the office in question, which, in the opinion of the pontiffs, would soften the asperity of their vows, and soothe their ambition, some seeds whereof were still left in their minds. The Roman pope having thus made sure of a set of people, so firmly devoted to his service, and so admirably well qualified to exercise an employment, whose chief characteristics are extreme severity and cruelty; sought for every opportunity to increase their authority, by appointing them a particular tribunal, where they were to sit, hear, and pronounce sentence against heresies and heretics, as judges delegated by him, and representing his person.

This pope first enlarged their authority, by empowering them to bestow indulgencies, to publish crusades, and to excite nations and princes to join

the crusaders, and march forth in order to extirpate heresy.

In 1244, the emperor Frederic II. increased their power much more, by publishing four edicts in Pavia. He therein declared himself the protector of the Inquisitors; decreed that the clergy should take cognizance of heresy, and the lay judges prosecute heretics, after that the former had heard them. He likewise enacted that all obstinate heretics should be burnt; and such as repented, imprisoned for life. The reason why Frederic testified so much zeal for the christian religion was, to destroy the report which the popes, with whom he had been engaged in violent contests, spread, throughout all the courts of Christendom, viz. that he intended to renounce the Christian religion, and turn Mahometan. This, very probably, induced him to exert himself with greater severity against the heretics, than any of his predecessors; he being the first emperor who sentenced to death all heretics without distinction.

Du Cange tells us, that the Inquisitors were established in this country about the year 1229, against the Waldenses, by the council of Toulouse; which Inquisitors were chosen from among the Dominicans; and some were appointed under Francis I. against the Lutherans; and established, by a bull of pope Clement VII. in 1525. Though the tribunal of the Inquisition was never settled in France, after

the same manner as in Spain and Italy, yet Inquisitors we delegated to France, during many years, by the pope ; to preserve the purity of doctrine, and keep the people obedient to the church. Twelve years after the death of St. Dominic, pope Gregory IX. named two friars of the same order, anno 1233, to exercise the like functions ; and this apostolical commission was perpetuated, not only in the convent of Toulouse, but extended to several other convents in the kingdom. One of the commissioners, nominated in the cause of the Knights Templars, was the Inquisitor general in France. We find by *l'historie de la Pucelle d'Orleans*, (the maid of Orleans) that, anno 1430, John Magistri, vicegerent (substitute) of John Goverant, Inquisitor of the faith, was one of her judges ; that 35 years after, John Brehal (who was an Inquisitor) and some prelates, deputed by Pope Paulus II. declared her innocent. It does not appear that there were, from this time till the reign of Francis I. any Inquisitors of this sort in France ; whether it were that the popes did not think them necessary, in an age when errors were in a great measure rooted up ; or that the then reigning princes, being more jealous of the regal authority than their predecessors, would not suffer any infringement (as this seemed to be) of the liberties of the Gallican church. See father Bouhour's life of St. Ignatius, Book II. This author observes farther, that, under

Francis I. Matthew Ori was raised by Pope Clement VII. to the employment of Inquisitor, on occasion of the heresies of Germany.—There are now no footsteps of the Inquisition left in France, except in Toulouse, where there is an Inquisitor, a Dominican; but then his authority relates only to the examining of books concerning doctrine.

The Inquisition would have been introduced into this kingdom under Francis II. had not the excellent Mighel de l'Hospital, chancellor of France, strongly opposed that design. "When the passing of the edict of the Inquisition of Spain came before Chancellor de l'Hospital, as he knew that the members of the privy council and the parliaments had consented to it, he drew up another edict, in which he tempered matters so happily, and gave such excellent reasons for this, that even the Guises, though strong advocates for the tribunal in question, approved his opinion and even brought over the Spanish ministry to the same way of thinking, notwithstanding they were desirous that France should be modelled and governed as Spain was." This was done in May, 1560, in the town of Romorantin.*

* La Planche. Histoire de Francois II. p. 36.

INQUISITION OF ROME.

The Inquisition of Rome is composed of twelve cardinals, and some other officers. The pope presides personally in this assembly. The Inquisition is the chief tribunal of Rome. (The congregation of the Inquisition was first established in 1545.) The above cardinals assume to themselves the title of Inquisitors general throughout the christian world; but they have no jurisdiction in France, and some other Romish countries. They are empowered to deprive or remove all inferior Inquisitors, at least those of Italy.

Popes Innocent, Alexander, Urban, Clement, and the seven pontiffs their successors, exerted their utmost endeavours, but to no purpose, to prevail with the Venetians to follow the example of the other states of Italy in this particular.

The conduct of the Inquisitors, were circumstances which strongly induced the republic of Venice to refuse admission to that tribunal in its territories. The only topic of discourse, in all places, was the disorders and seditions caused by the sermons, as well as the imprudent behaviour of the Inquisitors: for these zealots would, upon any caprice, publish crusades against the heretics; when the crusaders in question, who had been drawn together on a sudden, instead of assisting the cause of

religion, only revenged themselves of their enemies; and seized the possessions of a numberless multitude of innocent persons, upon the false pretence of their being heretics. Milan and Parma were very near ruined by the sedition raised in them on these occasions; and nothing was heard, all over Italy, but bitter complaints against the Inquisition and the Inquisitors. The senate of Venice, who understood their interest as well as any body of men in the world, took advantage of the disorders above-mentioned, to justify their constant refusal of this tribunal.

However, pope Nicholas IV. not being disheartened at all the fruitless attempts made by his predecessors, renewed them; when the senate perceiving that if they persisted in their refusal, they would at last be forced to admit an Inquisition dependant on that of Rome; they establishod one by their own authority, composed both of ecclesiastical and lay judges. This Inquisition has its own laws, which differ from those of the tribunals of this kind settled in Italy, and is far less rigorous. The utmost precautions were taken by those who established this Inquisition, to prevent such disorders as had broke out in all other places where it had been admitted.

The senate having thus taken the resolution to admit the Inquisition, an act or instrument for that purpose, was drawn up the 4th of August, 1289, in

the most authentic manner, and sent to the pope. Though the pope was not pleased with the modifications introduced by the senate, he nevertheless expressed, in outward show, his approbation of the instrument presented to him; and ratified it by a bull dated the 28th of August above-mentioned; in hopes that the Venetians might afterwards be prevailed upon to comply with the desires of the court of Rome, which, however, they have not yet done. On the contrary, this sage republic, so far from repealing the old laws, establishes new ones, whenever it is apprehensive that the court of Rome intends to lessen its authority, by enlarging that of the Inquisition. How glorious it is for this republic, to see, in its territories, the tribunal of the Inquisition, subject to the ordinances and laws which the senate formerly prescribed, and still prescribe to it; at a time that this tribunal governs and commands, in the most despotic manner, in all the other states, where it was received without restriction; and is now become the most formidable, the most dreadful, and most cruel tribunal in the universe; insomuch, that even kings themselves are not secure from its prosecutions, at least from its resentment!

With regard to the kingdom of Naples, the Inquisition has never been received there. This was owing, at first, to the almost perpetual dissensions which reigned between the Neapolitan kings, and the Roman pontiffs. From the time that the Spanish

monarchs have possessed that kingdom, how great a harmony soever might subsist between them and the court of Rome, yet things have always continued on the same footing, and this from a singular circumstance, viz. that the popes themselves opposed it; and for this reason, that the kings of Spain insisted perpetually, that the Neapolitan Inquisitors ought to be dependant on the Inquisitor General of Spain, and not on the general Inquisition of Rome, as the popes asserted. This the latter would never consent to; and from this argument, that as the kingdom of Naples held, of the see of Rome, and not of Spain; the Inquisition should consequently hold likewise of the pope. But as these two courts were never able to agree about this matter, the Neapolitan bishops have always enjoyed the privilege of judging heretics. However, the pope may, in certain cases, depute commissaries to Naples, to judge of heretical matters; but this happened seldom or never. In 1544, Don Pedro, of Toledo, viceroy of Naples under the emperor Charles V. endeavoured to settle the Inquisition in that kingdom; but the people mutinying, his design was defeated.

THE INQUISITION ESTABLISHED IN SPAIN.

Though the Inquisition had been strongly opposed in France and Germany, it yet gained footing in Spain; the kings of Arragon admitting it into the several states dependent on their crown. Endeavours were used, but to no purpose, to force it into the western parts of Europe; the people opposing it with the utmost vigour, whereby it lost a considerable part of its power in the kingdom of Arragon; till Ferdinand, king of that country, and Isabella of Castile, uniting under one monarchy, by their marriage, almost all the Spanish dominions; restored the tribunal in question to its pristine authority in Arragon, and afterwards in all Spain, which was not properly brought under the yoke of the Inquisition, till about the year 1484.

The court of Rome was indebted for this to John de Torqumada, a Dominican. This friar, who was confessor to Isabella, had made her promise, before she came to the throne, that in case she should be raised to it, she would use all possible methods to extirpate heretics and infidels. As she afterwards was queen, and brought the kingdom of Castile, by way of dower, to Ferdinand; they finding themselves exceedingly powerful, resolved to conquer the kingdom of Granada, and to drive back the Moors into Barbary. The Moors were accor-

dingly subdued; and all the territories possessed by them in Spain seized, so that prodigious multitudes of them were forced to return into Africa. Nevertheless, great numbers still continued in Spain; a circumstance owing to their having possessions or wives in this country, or their being settled in trade there.

As Ferdinand and Issabella considered that, in case they should banish these Moors from Spain, they thereby would depopulate the countries conquered by them; their majesties consented that they, as well as the Jews, should continue in it, provided they would turn christians; upon which those people, finding that all resistance would be vain, embraced the christian religion, in outward appearance.

But now Torquemada assuring the queen that this dissimulation would be of infinite prejudice both to the church and state, was urgent with her to perform the promise she had made him, viz. of prosecuting the infidels and heretics as soon as she should be seated on the throne. He enforced his entreaties with all the arguments which false politics and false religion could suggest; concluding, that the best expedient would be, to introduce and settle the Inquisition under the authority of their majesties. In a word, the queen, after many solicitations, promised to use her utmost endeavours to get the king's consent; which she afterwards ob-

taining, their majesties demanded and procured, from pope Sixtus IV. anno 1478, bulls* for the purposes above-mentioned.

Torquemada had been of such important service to the see of Rome, that it was natural he should be rewarded by it; the pope raising him to the purple. He afterwards was appointed by Ferdinand and Issabella, Inquisitor General of the whole monarchy of Spain; and he discharged the functions of his employment, so much to their expectation, that he prosecuted, in 14 years, above 100,000 persons, 6000 of whom were sentenced to the flames.

Matters were afterwards carried to such a height, by the barbarous zeal of princes, that Philip II. king of Spain, established the Inquisition even on board of ships of war. This bigoted monarch, would, doubtless, have introduced it into the skies, had it been in his power. In 1571, he fitted out a fleet called the Invincible, commanded by Don John of Austria; and as it had been found necessary to employ sailors of all nations, Philip fearing that a mixture of religions would corrupt the Romish faith, consulted pope Pius V. on this occasion; when the pontiff sent one of the Inquisitors of Spain, who had

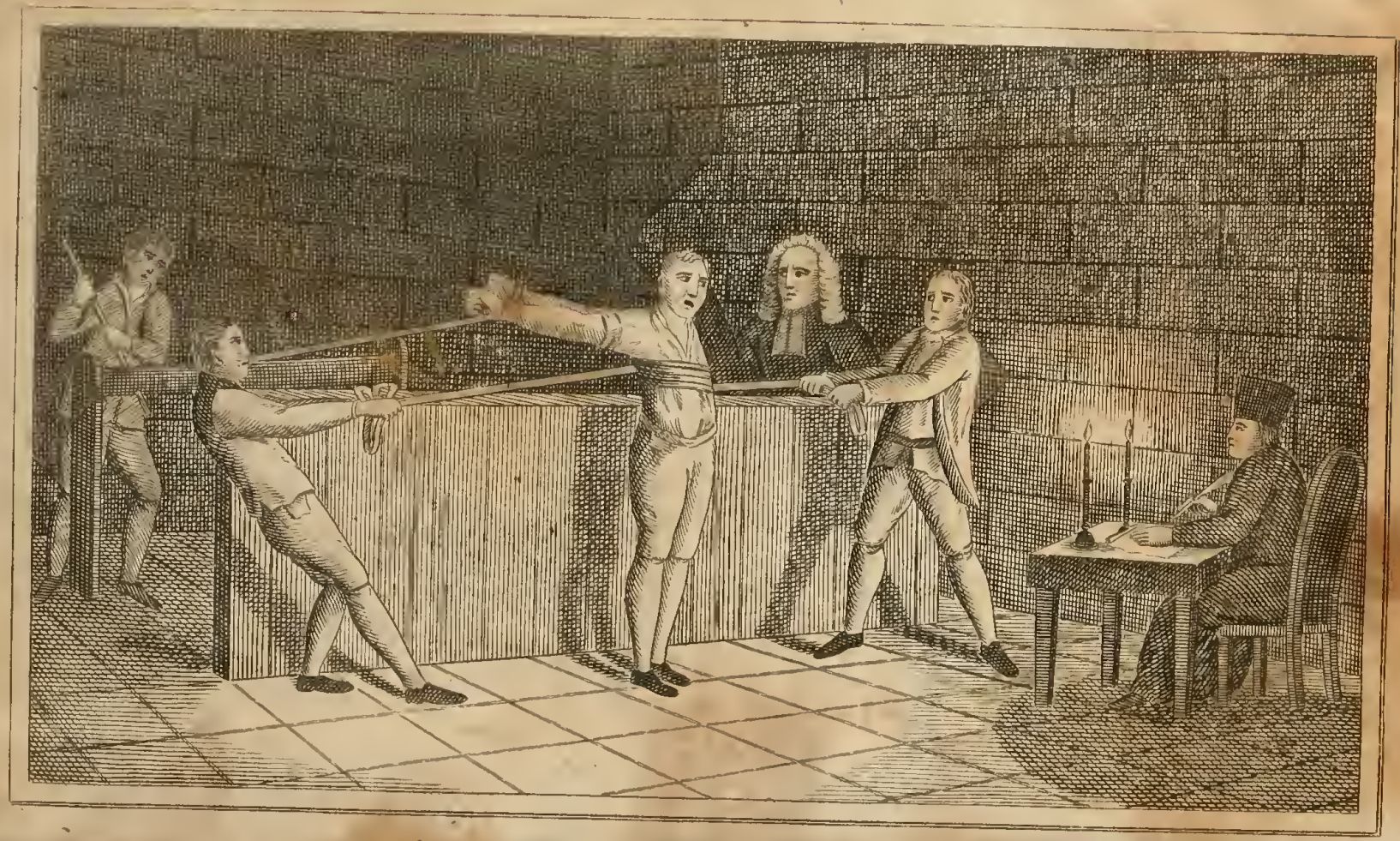
*Bulls are properly letters, with a leaden seal, issued out of the chancery of Rome; and answer to the letters patent, edicts, &c. published by order of temporal princes. When these bulls are by way of grant or favour, the leaden seal is dependant from silken strings; but if it relates to some judicial or executory act, the seal hangs by a hempen cord.

been appointed by the Inquisitor General of that monarchy, as Inquisitor of the fleet; with power to preside in the several tribunals; and solemnize Auto da Fes in all places they might put into.—The first Auto da Fe was held in the city of Messina, where various punishments were inflicted on many persons.

This tribunal was introduced into Sicily and Sardinia, at the time that those islands were subject to the crown of Spain.

THE INQUISITION ESTABLISHED IN PORTUGAL.

This tribunal is said to have been introduced into Portugal by the artifice of John Peres de Saavedra, a native of Corduba, or Jaen, in Spain. We are told, that he, having found the secret to counterfeit apostolical letters, amassed by that means, about thirty thousand ducats, which were employed by him to bring the Inquisition into Portugal, in the following manner. He assumed the character of Cardinal Legate from the see of Rome; when forming his household, of one hundred and fifty domestics, he was received, in the above-mentioned quality, at Seville, and very honourably lodged in the archiepiscopal palace. Advancing after this, towards the frontiers of Portugal, he dispatched one of his secretaries to the king, to acquaint him with his arrival; and to present him with fictitious letters from the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and several other princes both ecclesiastical and secular; who all intreated his majesty to favour the legate's pious designs. The king, overjoyed at this legation, sent a lord of his court to compliment him, and attend him to the royal palace, where he resided about three months. The mock legate having succeeded in his designs, by laying the foundation of the Inquisition, took leave of his majesty;



and departed, greatly satisfied with his achievement: but, unluckily for himself, he was discovered on the confines of Castile, and known to have been formerly a domestic of a Portuguese nobleman. He was then seized, and sentenced ten years to the gallies, where he continued a very long time, till, at last, he was released from thence, anno 1556, by a brief from pope Paul IV. This pontiff, who used to call the Inquisition the grand spring of the papacy, wanted to see him.

We are told, that the Inquisition of Portugal was copied from that of Spain, and introduced into the former, anno 1535. But Mr. De la Neuville, in his history of Portugal, tom. I. page 59, declares, that the Inquisition was introduced there anno 1557, under John III. and settled in the cities of Lisbon, Coimbra and Evora.

The Inquisition has subsisted ever since in Portugal, and is the most severe, the most rigid, and cruel of any in the world.

The tribunal in question, rose afterwards, with the Spanish and Portuguese names, and shared, as it were in their acquisitions; for those two nations, making boundless conquests in both the Indies, established the Inquisition, in the several countries won by their arms, after the same methods, and under the same regulations, as in their dominions in Europe.

ATTEMPTS MADE TO INTRODUCE THE INQUISITION INTO ENGLAND.

ENDEAVOURS were used to introduce the Inquisition here, under the reign of queen Mary, sister to queen Elizabeth. "The justices of peace (says bishop Burnet) were now every where so slack in the prosecution of heretics, that it seemed necessary to find out other tools. So the courts of Inquisition were thought of. These were set up first in France against the Albigenses, and afterwards in Spain, for discovering the Moors; and were now turned upon the heretics. Their power was uncontroulable; they seized on any thing they pleased, upon such informations, or presumptions as lay before them.—They managed their processes in secret, and put their prisoners to such sorts of torture, as they thought fit for extorting confessions or discoveries from them. At this time (in 1557) both the pope and king Philip, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that they were the only sure means for extirpating heresy. So, as a step to the setting them up, a commission was given to Bonner, and twenty more, the greatest part laymen, to search all over England for all suspected of heresy, that did not hear mass, go in processions, or take holy bread or holy water: they were authorised, three being a quorum, to proceed either

by presentments, or other politic ways: they were to deliver all they discovered to their ordinaries; and were to use all such means as they could invent; which was left to their discretions and consciences, for executing their commission. Many other commissions subaltern to theirs, were issued out for several counties and dioceses. This was looked on as such an advance towards an Inquisition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried on vigorously in some places, and but coldly in most parts; for the dislike of them grew to be almost universal."* How greatly are we indebted to our ancestors, who, under the immortal queen Elizabeth, rescued us, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, from that diabolical yoke, the Inquisition. And hence, who among us, but must read, with the utmost detestation, the following words, spoken by a recorder of London, Sir John Hood, at the trial of the celebrated quakers, William Penn and William Mead.† "Till now, I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." No sentiment sure-

* Abridgement of the history of the church of England, book III. page 312.

† An answer to the seditious and scandalous pamphlet, entitled the trial of W. Penn and W. Mead, page 3.

ly could be more horrid than this to the mind of an Englishman! Britons, it is hoped, will never fall so low, as to suffer an Inquisition to take footing among them.

> "The baleful dregs
> Of these late ages, the inglorious draught
> Of servitude and folly have not yet,
> Blest be the eternal ruler of the world,
> Defil'd to such a depth of sordid shame
> The native honours of the human soul,
> Nor so effac'd the image of its fire."

We find that previous to the persecution under queen Mary, there were consultations concerning the methods to proceed against heretics. Cardinal Pool had been suspected to bear some favour to them formerly, but he took great care to avoid all occasions of being any more blamed for this: and indeed he lived in that distrust of all the English, that he opened his thoughts to very few: for his chief confidents were two Italians who came over with him, Priuli and Ormanento. Secetary Cecil, who in matters of religion, complied with the present time, was observed to have more of his favour than any Englishman had. Pool was an enemy to all severe proceedings; he thought churchmen should have the tenderness of a father, and the care of a shepherd; and ought to reduce, but not devour the stray sheep. He had observed that cruelty rather inflamed than cured that distemper. He

thought the better and surer way, was to begin with an effectual reformation of the manners of the clergy, since it was the scandal given by their ill conduct and ignorance, that was the chief cause of the growth of heresy; so he concluded, that if a primitive discipline should be revived, the nation would, by degrees, lay down their prejudices, and might, in time, be gained by gentle methods. Gardiner, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himself, thought the strict execution of the laws against the Lollards, was that to which they ought chiefly to trust. If the preachers were made public examples, he concluded the people would be easily reclaimed; for he pretended, that it was visible, if king Henry had executed the act of the six articles vigorously, all would have submitted. He confessed a reformation of the clergy was a good thing, but all times would not bear it. If they should proceed severely against scandalous churchmen, the heretics would take advantage from that to defame the church the more, and raise a clamour against all clergymen. The queen was for joining both these councils together; and intended to proceed at the same time, both against scandalous churchmen and heretics.* In the course of the prosecutions, endeavours were used by the different parties, to urge the queen to continue them;

*Burnet, ubi supra, 269, 270, 271.

and to dissuade her from these barbarities. "At this time (says bishop Burnet) a petition was printed beyond sea; by which the reformers addressed themselves to the queen; they set before her the danger of her being carried by a blind zeal, to destroy the members of Christ, as St. Paul had done before his conversion. They reminded her of Cranmer's interposing to preserve her life in her father's time. They cited many passages out of the books of Gardiner, Bonner and Tonstall, by which she might see that they were not actuated by true principles of conscience, but were turned as their fears or interest led them. They showed her how contrary persecution was to the spirit of the gospel; that christians tolerated Jews; and that the Turks, notwithstanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the cruelty of their religion, yet tolerated christians. They reminded her, that the first law for burning in England was made by Henry IV. as a reward to the bishops, who had helped him to depose Richard II. and so mount the throne.—They represented to her, that God had trusted her with the sword, which she ought to employ for the protection of her people, and was not to abandon them to the cruelty of such wolves. The petition also turned to the nobility, and the rest of the nation; and the danger of a Spanish yoke, and a bloody Inquisition were set before them.—Upon this the popish authors writ several books in justifica-

tion of these proceedings. They observed, that the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and said the heretics blasphemed the body of Christ, and called it only a piece of bread. It became christians to be more zealous for the true religion, than heathens were for the false. St. Peter, by a divine power, struck Annanias and Sapphira dead. Christ in the parable, said, *Compel them to enter in.* St. Paul said, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* St. Austin was once against all such severities, but changed his mind, when he saw the good effect which some banishments and fines had on the Donatists. That on which they insisted most, was, the burning of the Anabaptists in king Edward's time. So they were now fortified in their cruel intentions; and resolved to spare none, of what age, sex or condition soever they might be."* The reader of good sense, of what religion soever, will see at once the weakness of the arguments on the popish side, compared with those of the protestants; and yet the former, (so horrid was this ministry) prevailed.

The Inquisition has not enlarged its jurisdiction since the attempts made to force it into the Netherlands. Such countries as had admittedt his tribunal before, are still subject to it; and those which had refused it, have been so happy as to keep it out; so

* Idem, p. 276, 277.

that it is now confined principally to Italy, and the dominions subject to the crowns of Spain and Portugal; yet its power extends over a larger extent of ground than all Europe; and, in the several places where it is established, the sad marks thereof are but too apparent.

"Come, by whatever sacred name disguis'd,
OPPRESSION, come! and in thy works rejoice!
See nature's richest plains to putrid fens
Turn'd by thy rage. From their uncheerful bounds
See raz'd th' enliv'ning village, farm, and seat.
First rural toil, by thy rapacious hand
Robb'd of his poor reward, resign'd the plow;
And now he dares not turn the noxious glebe.
'Tis thine entire. The lonely swain himself,
Who roves at large along the grassy downs
His flocks to pasture, thine abhorrent flies.
Far as the sickning eye can sweep around
'Tis all one desart, desolate and grey,
Graz'd by the sullen buffalo alone;
And where the rank unventilated growth
Of rotting ages taints the passing gale,
Beneath the baleful blast the city pines,
Or sinks enfeebled, or infected burns.
Beneath it mourns the solitary road,
Roll'd in rude mazes o'er the abandon'd waste,
While ancient ways, ingulph'd are seen no more.
Such thy dire plaints, thou self destroyer! Foe
To human kind.

A

SUCCINCT ACCOUNT

OF THE

INQUISITION.

THERE are in the dominions of the king of Portugal, four Inquisitions, viz. at Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora and Goa, in the East Indies. The jurisdiction of the last mentioned extends over all the countries possessed by his Portuguese majesty on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope.

Besides these four Inquisitions, there is a supreme council held in Lisbon, to which all the other Portuguese Inquisitions are subordinate. This tribunal consists of an Inquisitor General, who is appointed by the king, and confirmed by the pope. He is empowered to nominate the Inquisitors in all the countries dependant on the crown of Portugal. —Under him are five counsellors, a fiscal proctor, a secretary of the king's bed chamber, two secretaries of the council, an alcayde or gaoler, a receiver, two reporters, two qualificators, and a great number of subaltern officers.

This supreme council has an unlimited authority over all the Inquisitors of Portugal; they not being permitted to solemnize an Auto da Fe without its permission. This is the only tribunal of the Inquisition from which there is no appeal. It may enact new laws at pleasure. It determines all suits or contests arising between Inquisitors. It punishes the ministers and officers of the Inquisition. All appeals are made to it. In fine, the authority of this tribunal is so great, that there is scarce any one but trembles at its bare name; and even the king himself does not dare to oppose it.

We observed that besides the supreme council, there are four other tribunals of the Inquisition.—Each of them is composed of three Inquisitors or judges, a fiscal proctor, two secretaries, a judge, a receiver, and a secretary of confiscated possessions, assessors, counsellors, an executor, physicians and surgeons, a gaoler, a messenger, door-keepers, familiars, and visitors.

There are, in the Romish church, two sorts of judges in matters of faith. The first are so by virtue of the employment with which they are invested; such as the pope and the bishops, who, immediately after their consecration, are supposed to receive from heaven, a right and an absolute jurisdiction over heretics.

The second sort of judges, are those delegated by the pope, who sets himself up as supreme judge

in matters of faith; and gives the judge in question an entire jurisdiction over all heretics and apostates. These are called apostolical Inquisitors.

This employment is of such eminence, that those who are raised to it have the same title with those of bishops: and Clement IV. to do them the greater honour, and enlarge their power, freed them from the jurisdiction of the bishops where they reside; making them dependant only on the General Inquisitor of the kingdom. They likewise may publish edicts against heretics; heighten their punishment; excommunicate, or take off the excommunication from such as have incurred it, except these are dying.

The Inquisitors may seize a heretic, though he should have fled for refuge into a church; which the bishop must not oppose, on any pretence whatsoever; a circumstance that gives the Inquisitors greater power than is enjoyed by the kings of the countries where the Inquisition is established.

No prelate, or legate from the see of Rome, can pronounce sentence of excommunication, suspension or interdict, against the Inquisitors and their secretaries, without an express order from the pope; to prevent, as is pretended, the affairs of religion from being injured, and heretics from going unpunished.

The Inquisitors may forbid the secular judges to prosecute any person, even in a prosecution carried on, at first, by their order.

Any person who shall kill, or employ another to kill, abuse or beat an Inquisitor, shall be delivered over to the secular arm, in order to be severely punished.

Pope Urban IV. granted them likewise the privilege of absolving one another, and their assistants, with regard to any faults committed by them, arising from human frailty; and for which they may have incurred the sentnce of excommunication.

They, farther, may grant an indulgence of twenty or forty days, (as they may think proper) to persons whom they shall think penitent.

They are empowered to absolve all friars, companions, and notaries of the Inquisition, from the penance which may have been enjoined them during three years; provided such had endeavoured sincerely, and personally aided and insisted in the prosecution of heretics, and of all who favour, defend or conceal them. And if any of the persons in question should die in the pursuit of so pious (as it is strangely termed) a work, the Inquisitors may give them full absolution, after such persons shall have made a confession of all their sins.

To these privileges we shall add such as relate more immediately to the prosecution of persons impeached. All affairs relating to the pretended holy office, are managed by the Inquisitors, who by virtue of the denunciations, informations, and accusations, brought against all sorts of persons; is-

sue their orders for citing, seizing, imprisoning, and laying in irons, those who are accused.

"Run, with your nose to earth:
Run, blood hound, run; and scent out royal murder.
You second rogue, but equal to the first,
Plunder, fly, hang: nay, take your tackling with you,
For these shall hold them fast; (hang, hang the slaves)
To the mid region in the sun.
Plunder, begone, vipers, asps and adders."

The Inquisitors receive the confessions and depositions of those persons, and appoint the various tortures, in order to extort from them whatever they desire should be confessed. In fine, they condemn definitively, all who have the sad fate to be their prisoners, without any appeal whatsoever. The Inquisitors may, for their own ease, appoint persons to assist as judges, in their names, in case of sickness or absence; and these are allowed much the same prerogatives with those who established them; and can be removed by none but the Inquisitors by whom they were nominated. They likewise may appoint more assistants or commissaries, proportionably to the cities or towns in the provinces dependant on this tribunal. There must be one commissary at least, in every town.

The second officer of the Inquisition is the fiscal proctor. This man, upon informations made against persons, receives the depositions of the witnesses; and addresses the Inquisitors, in order for

their being seized and imprisoned. In a word, he is their accuser, and pleads against them, after their being taken up. The secretaries keep an exact register of the prisoners from the time of their commitment; of the principal articles of the indictment; with the names of the witnesses who swore against them. In a word, they write down the proceedings in all causes, and the defence made by the prisoner. They likewise register all the orders given by the executor, and other officers of the tribunal in question.—All writings must be carefully locked up, to prevent their being perused by any persons except those acquainted with the secrets of the Inquisition. The judge of the goods and chattels confiscated, is judge between the fisc or exchequer, and private persons, in all causes relating to the effects of prisoners.

The receiver is to take exact care of the confiscated possessions; must sell them, and apply the monies pursuant to the orders given him. He likewise must be present when the executor, and the other officers, sequester the possessions of prisoners; which is not done without an express command from the Inquisitor. The secretary of the sequestrations, takes an exact inventory of all the effects belonging to the prisoners, found in their possession; or in the hands of other persons, who, should they alienate the least part of them, would be exposed to the utmost rigours of this tribunal.

All the effects and possessions belonging to the prisoners, are lodged with the receiver of the sequestrations; together with an exact inventory, signed by the executor, who, as well as the secretary, has a copy thereof.

The duties of the executor, is to execute the orders of the Inquisitors, and particularly to take criminals, and go in pursuit of them, if they are at a distance; to look carefully after them, when in their hands; and even to fetter them, &c. in order to convey them, with greater security, to the prison of the Inquisition."

The familiars are the bailiffs or catchpoles of the Inquisition. Though this is a most ignominious employment in all other criminal courts, it yet is looked upon as so honourable in the Inquisition, that every nobleman in Portugal is a familiar of this tribunal. It is not surprising, that persons of the highest quality should be solicitous for this post, since the pope has granted to these famliars, the like plenary indulgences as the council of Lateran gave to such persons as should go to the succour of the holy land against the infidels. They are the satellites of the Inquisitors; they attending on them and defending them if necessary, against the insults of heretics.—They accompany the executor, whenever he goes to seize criminals; and must obey all orders given by the chief officers of the Inquisition. Several privileges are allowed them,

especially the carrying arms; but they are ordered to use these with discretion.

Assessors and counsellors are persons skilled in the canon and civil law. The Inquisitors consult them in all difficult points, but follow their opinions no farther than they think proper. They commonly make use of those persons to give the greater weight to their sentences, by the specious precautions they take; but in no other view than to impose on mankind.

The visitor is the person appointed by the Inquisitor General, to inspect all the towns, cities and provinces where commissaries are established. They must inform him of the care which these commissaries take in searching after heretics; and make a report thereof, in order that he, with his council, may use such measures as may be thought fitting: the visitor must pay the most exact obedience to the instructions of the Inquisitor; he is forbid to lodge at the houses of those over whose conduct he is to have an eye; to receive the least present from them, or any one sent in their name. The number of these visitors is always in proportion to that of the towns, and the extent of the provinces where the inquisition is established.

The several officers of this tribunal must make oath, before the Inquisitors, to discharge faithfully the duties of their employment; not to divulge the most minute particular relating to the Inquisition or

its prisons, on any pretence whatsoever, upon pain of being turned out, and punished with the utmost severity. The Inquisitors admit of no excuse on these occasions; secrecy being the soul as it were, and the mighty support of this tribunal.

Besides these several officers of the Inquisition, the popes have likewise commanded, by their bulls, magistrates in general, to give all the assistance in their power, not only to the inquisitors; but likewise to their various subaltern officers, who may stand in need thereof, in the exercise of their employments, upon pain of their being subject to ecclesiastical punishment.

The Inquisitors being, as was observed, judges delegated by the pope, for inquiring into matters of faith, and for extirpating heresy; they, upon this specious pretence, are impowered to prosecute all sorts of friars, of what rank or condition soever, either in their own names, by the supreme council of the kingdom, or by the pope. 'Tis so much the interest of the Roman pontiff to support the Inquisitors, that he exerts his whole authority for this purpose; some examples whereof will be given hereafter.

In fine, they may prosecute indiscriminately, any laymen infected with heresy, not excepting princes or kings. However, the Inquisitors, to secure themselves from any ill consequences which might attend their attacking persons in such exalted sta-

tions, consult the pope on these occasions, and proceed as he may direct. This precaution is not used out of respect to persons of high eminence and crowned heads; but, for fear lest a severe treatment should exasperate them, and cause them to oppose the Inquisition in places where it is poor, and not powerfully established. No person should be exempt from the prosecutions of this tribunal, how great soever his privileges might otherwise be, should he presume to speak contemptuously of this tribunal; this being an infinitely worse crime than the most pernicious heresy.

CASES OR CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH SUBJECT A PERSON TO THIS TRIBUNAL.

The first is heresy.—Under the name of heretics are comprehended all persons who have spoke, writ, taught or practised any tenets contrary to the scriptures, to the articles of the creed; and, especially, to the traditions of the church of Rome. Likewise such as have denied the catholic faith, by going over to some other religion; or who though they do nor quit the Romish communion, praise the customs and ceremonies of other churches; practise some of them; or believe that persons may be saved in all religions, provided they profess them with sincerity.

They likewise consider as heretics, all who disapprove any ceremonies, usages or customs received, not only by the church, but even by the Inquisition.

All who think,* say, or teach any thing contrary to the opinion received at Rome, with regard to the pope's supreme unlimited authority, and his superiority over general councils; as likewise such as

* How can other persons know their thonghts?

speak, teach or write any thing contrary to the papal decisions, on what occasions soever, are looked upon as heretics.

A suspicion of heresy, which is the second case, is still more extensive; for to incur such suspicion, it is enough that a person only starts some proposition which may offend the hearers; or does not impeach those who advance any such. That person is likewise suspected of heresy, who contemns, insults or mutilates any images. Likewise all those who read books condemned by the Inquisition, or who lend them to others.

That person also incurs a suspicion of heresy, who deviates from the ordinary customs relating to religion, practised by the Romanists; such as letting a year pass, without going to confession and communion; the eating meat on fish days; or neglecting to go to mass at the times enjoined by the church.

Those also are suspected of heresy, who, being in holy orders, repeat such sacraments as should not be repeated; endeavour to enter into the marrirge state: or marry two or more wives.

In fine, such incur a suspicion of heresy, as go but once, to the sermons of heretics, or to any other of their public exercises. Likewise those who neglect to appear before the Inquisitors, when summoned; or procure absolution, the same year they were excommunicated. Also, the contracting a

friendship with heretics; the lodging such; the making them presents, or even visiting them; especially the preventing their being imprisoned in the Inquisition; the furnishing them with opportunities of escaping, though induced thereto by the strongest ties of blood, of gratitude or pity. This article is carried to such lengths by the Inquisitors, that persons are not only forbid to save heretics, but are obliged to discover them, though a father, brother, husband, or wife; and this upon pain of excommunication; of incurring a suspicion of heresy; and of being obnoxious to the rigours of the tribunal in question, as fautors or abettors of heresy. How unnatural, how cruel is such an injunction! These constitute the third case, subject to the judgment of the Inquisition. Under the name of fautors, are comprehended all who favour, defend or give advice or assistance, of what kind soever, to those whom the Inquisitors have begun to prosecute.

Those likewise become obnoxious, who, knowing persons to be heretics, or to have escaped out of the prisons of the Inquisition; or who, upon their being cited to appear, refuse to obey the summons; conceal, or give them advice or assistance in order for their escaping; likewise such as molest, by threats or otherwise, the agents of this tribunal in the execution of their office; or who, though they

do not obstruct it themselves, aid or abet such as oppose them.

Under the name of fautors of heresy, are also included those who speak, without permission, to the prisoners; or who write to them, either to give them advice, or merely to comfort them. Such as prevail upon, by money or otherwise, witnesses to be silent, or to favour the prisoners in their depositions; or who conceal, burn, or get possession in what manner soever, of papers which may be of use in convicting persons accused.

The fourth case subject to the judgment of the Inquisition, includes magicians, wizards, soothsayers, and such like, of whom there are supposed to be (very idly sure) more in Italy than in any other country, the Italian women being strangely curious and credulous. We shall not specify the various accusations brought on those occasions; they consisting of ridiculous superstitions, arising from a heated imagination and blind credulity, rather than from a depraved will and a corrupt heart. We will only observe, that, among the several cases subject to the Inquisition, none fill its prisons with a greater number of women of all conditions.

Blasphemy, (the fifth case) though very common, and one of the greatest crimes, yet the Inquisitors do not take cognizance of it, except it contains some heresy. We shall forbear giving instances thereof here, it being much better for mankind, that such things should be buried in oblivion.

Though neither Jews, Mahomedans, or such like, are subject to the Inquisition, in many things, they yet are obnoxious to it, in all the cases above-mentioned; those crimes not being tolerated in Jews and Mahomedans, &c. more than in christians. Farther, the above-mentioned become subject to the Inquisition, if they assert, write, or publish any particulars contrary to the Romish communion. Thus, for instance, should a Jew or Mahomedan deny the Trinity, or a Providence, he would be punished as an heretic; as also, was he to hinder a person possessing any of those religions from turning christian; or convert a Romanist to theirs, or favour such a design.

Jews are not allowed to vend, publish, or even keep the Talmud, or any book, which speaks contemptuously of the christian religion, or is prohibited by the Inquisition.

In fine, Jews are not permitted to have christian nurses, or to do any thing in contempt of the Romish religion. The Inquisitors take cognizance of all such cases; and punish offenders in them with the utmost severity; so that the dread of this obliges those unhappy people to become converts to popery. However, such a conversion does not make them better men. These are always distinguished by the title of new christians, a name which is so much detested, that the old christians can seldom be prevailed upon among the new, though the

families of the latter had been Christians from their great grandfathers. The utter abhorrence in which these new converts are held, makes them unite more closely one with the other, in order to perform mutual services, which they could not expect from the old christians; but this very union is commonly the source of their misfortunes. To illustrate this, I need but observe that, if a new christian, who is sincerely such, happens to contract a very strict intimacy with other new christians, this alone would be sufficient to make him suspected of practising Jewish ceremonies with them, in secret. In consequence of this suspicion, such person is seized by order of the holy office; and accused, by the deposition of some person, of being a Jew. Being conscious of his innocence, he flatters himself that nothing will be easier for him than to prove it publicly; whence he makes no difficulty to comply with the custom established by the Inquisitors, viz. of giving in immediately a complete inventory of all his effects, &c. upon the firm persuasion that they will be restored to him, the instant he shall have justified himself. But he is mistaken, for presently after he has given in such inventory, the Inquisitors seize his effects, and sell them publicly by auction. The bare accusation pronounces him guilty; and he has no other way to escape the flames, than by making a confession, conformably to the articles of the indictment. As his accuser,

the witnesses, and himself, are not brought face to face, his innocence is of no service. His riches prove his ruin, those being certainly seized ; and his life would inevitably fall a sacrifice, should he not acknowledge himself a relapsed Jew, though he had always been a zealous Romanist.

The sixth and last case subject to the judgment of the Inquisition, is of those who resist its officers, or any way oppose its jurisdiction. As one of the chief maxims of this tribunal is to strike terror, and to awe such as are subject to it; it punishes with the utmost severity all who offend its agents and officers. On these occasions, the slightest fault is considered as a heinous crime. Neither birth, employment, dignity or rank, can protect. To threaten ever so little the lowest officer belonging to the Inquisition, its informers, or witnesses, would be punished with the extremest rigour.

Such are cases which snbject a person to the Inquisition ; and there are four ways, by which such a one usually becomes so. First, by common fame, which declares him to be guilty of one or more of the crimes specified above : secondly by the deposition of witnesses, who impeach him : thirdly, by his being informed against by the spies of the Inquisition, who are dispersed every where : lastly, by the confession of the prisoner, who accuses himself, in hopes of being treated with greater humanity, than if he had been informed against by others.

We shall now proceed to the manner of prosecuting a person impeached ; and this, sometimes, upon the slightest suspicion. First, he is summoned three several times, to appear before the Inquisitors : when, if through fear or contempt, he should neglect to do this, he would be excommunicated, and sentenced, provisionally, to pay a considerable fine ; after which, should he be seized, a more severe sentence would inevitably be passed upon him.

The safest course therefore, for a person impeached, is to obey the first summons. The longer he delays on this occasion, the more criminal he makes himself, in the eye of the Inquisitors, though he should really be innocent. To disobey the command of the Inquisitors, is ever considered by them as a crime. They always look upon delays to be sure indications of guilt, as showing a dread to appear before the judges. When, therefore, a person is reduced to this sad extremity, nothing can secure him from the most rigorous punishment, but a voluntary and perpetual exile : nothing is forgot by the Inquisitors ; time cannot obliterate any crime ; and prescription is a thing unknown to them.

It frequently happens that the Inquisitors, either from their considering the crime of which a person stands impeached, as enormous, and that they have sufficient evidence against him : or from their apprehending that he may escape ; immediately issue their orders, without first sending a summons, for

his being seized, in any place whatsoever. When this is the case no asylum or privilege can stop, a single moment, the prosecution, nor abate its rigours. The Inquisitors give an order, under their own hands, to the executor, who takes a sufficient number of familiars along with him, to prevent a rescue.

Words could scarce describe the calamity of a man under these circumstances. He, perhaps, is seized, when in company with his friends, and surrounded by his family; a father by his son's side; a son by that of his father, and a wife in company with her husband. No person is allowed to make the least resistance, or even to speak a single word in favour of the prisoner; who is not indulged a moment's respite to settle his most important affairs.

Hence the reader may judge, of the continual apprehensions with which persons, inhabiting countries where the Inquisition is established, must necessarily be filled; since, in order to secure themselves from it, one friend is obliged to sacrifice another; sons their parents; parents their children; husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, by accusing them to the pretended holy office. How horrid a source have we here of perfidy and inhumanity!—What kind of community must that be, whence gratitude, love, and a mutual forbearance with regard to human frailties, are banished! What

must that tribunal be, which obliges parents, not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children; to extinguish all the sensations of tenderness and affection, which nature inspires for them; but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force them to become their accusers, and consequently the cause of the cruelties inflicted on them.

What idea ought we to form to ourselves of a tribunal, which obliges children, not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love and respect due to those who gave them birth; but even forces them upon the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents; and discover to the merciless Inquisitors, the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which human frailty so often urges: in a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or to perform the duties which religion enjoins. What disorder and confusion must such a conduct give rise to, in a tenderly loving family. An expression, innocent in itself, and perhaps but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or a panic fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family; and, at last, cause one or more of its members to be the innocent, sad victims, of the most barbarous of all tribunals.

What distractions must necessarily break out, in a family where the husband and wife are at variance,

and the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father who endeavours to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproaches or paternal corrections? Alas, no! these will plunder his house, to support themselves in their extravagance and riot; and afterwards deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal, whose proceedings are founded on the blackest injustice.

A riotous husband, or a loose wife, have likewise an easy opportunity, by means of the prosecutions in question, to rid themselves of any one who is a check to their vices, by delivering up him or her to the rigours of the Inquisition. Every detestable expedient, such as false oaths and testimonies, are employed with impunity, to sacrifice an innocent person. Very justly, therefore, might an ingenious French author, a Romanist, write thus, (speaking of the various courts in Lima:)

"The most formidable of all the tribunals is that of the Inquisition, whose bare name strikes terror universally. I. Because the informer is admitted as a witness. II. As the persons impeached never know those who inform against them. III. As the witnesses are never confronted. Hence innocent people are daily seized, whose only crime is, that certain persons are bent upon their destruction."

When a person is once imprisoned by the Inquisitors, his treatment is still more cruel. He is thoroughly searched to discover if possible, any books

or papers which may serve to convict him; or some instrument he may employ to put an end to his life, in order to escape the torture, &c. Of this there are but too many sad examples: and some prisoners have been so rash, as to dash their brains out against the wall, upon their being unprovided with scissars, a knife, a rope, and such like.

After a prisoner has been carefully searched; and his money, papers, buckles, rings, &c. have been taken from him, he is conveyed to a dungeon, the bare sight of which must fill him with horror. Torn from his family and his friends, who are not allowed access to, or even to send him one consolatory letter; or to take the least step in his favour, in order to prove his innocence; he sees himself instantly abandoned to his inflexible judges, to his melancholy, to his despair; and even often to his most inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Innocence on such an occasion, is a weak reed, nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person.

Being come to prison, the Inquisitor, attended by the officers of this mock holy tribunal, goes to the prisoner's abode; and there causes an exact inventory to be taken of all his papers, effects, and of every thing found in his house. They frequently seize all the prisoner's other possessions; at least the greater part of them, to pay themselves the fine to which he may be sentenced; for very few

escape out of the Inquisition without being half ruined, unless they happen to be very wealthy indeed.

The house of the Inquisition in Lisbon is a very spacious edifice. There are four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are galleries (in the dormitory form) two stories high. In these galleries are the cells or prisons, being about three hundred. Those on the ground floor are allotted for the vilest of criminals (as they are termed ;) and are so many frightful dungeons, all of free-stone, arched over, and very gloomy. The cells on the first floor are filled with less guilty persons ; and women are commonly lodged in those of the second story. These several galleries are hid from view, both within and without, by a wall above fifty feet high ; and built a few feet distance from the cells, which darkens them exceedingly. The house in question is of so great an extent, and contains so vast a variety of turnings, that I am persuaded a prisoner could scarce find his way out, unless he was well acquainted with its windings ; so that this horridly spacious prison may be compared to Dædalus' labyrinth.

"Here rooms within themselves encircled lie,
With various windings to deceive the eye.
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
Such is the work, so intricate the place,
That scarce the workmen all its turns could trace ;
And Dædalus was puzzled how to find
The secret ways of what himself design'd.

The apartments of the chief Inquisitor, which

likewise are very large, make part of this house. The entrance to it is through a coach gate, which leads to a large court or yard, round which are several spacious apartments, where the king and his court commonly stand, to view the procession of the prisoners the day of the Auto da Fe.

The furniture of these miserable dungeons is, a straw bed, a blanket, sheets, and sometimes a mattrass. The prisoner has likewise a frame of wood about six feet long, and three or four wide. This he lays on the ground, and spreads his bed upon. he also has an earthen pan for washing himself; two pitchers, one for clean and the other for foul water; a plate, and a little vessel with oil to light his lamp. He is not, however, allowed any books not even those of devotion.

With regard to provisions, the Inquisitors allow every prisoner a testoon, (seven pence half-penny, English money) per day for his subsistence. The gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, visits every month, all the prisoners, to inquire of them how they would have their monthly allowance laid out. The prisoner usually expends nine testoons for part of his provisions; that is, for a porringer of broth, and half a pound of boiled beef daily; eight testoons for bread, four for cheese, two for fruit, four for brandy, and the rest for oranges, lemons, sugar and washing. The gaoler's secretary, who accompanies him, takes an exact account of

what particulars every prisoner requests to be provided with during the month; which orders are punctually observed, the person who is appointed to furnish the prisoners on these occasions, being punished in case he infringes them. Such as have a great appetite, or desire wine, (as foreigners) particularly do) petition for an audience, in order to set forth their wants; and these are usually supplied, provided such indulgence does not foment intemperance, or is too expensive. I myself addressed the Inquisitors for that purpose, and my request was granted.

It is only on such occasions, or in sickness, that the Inquisitors show some little humanity. These excepted, nothing is found in them, but severity and barbarity. They are quite inflexible; for when once a person has the misfortune to be their prisoner, he is not only forbid all correspondence with his family and friends, (as was observed before) but even to make the least noise, to complain, sigh, address heaven aloud, to sing psalms or hymns. These are capital crimes, for which the guards or attendants of the Inquisition, who are ever walking up and down the passages, first reprove him severely; but if he happens to make any noise a second time, they open his cell, beat him severely; and this, not only to punish the prisoner himself, but likewise to intimidate others, who, by reason of the horrid silence which reigns, and the proximity of the cells,

hear the blows and cries of the wretched victim. I shall here give an instance of this barbarity, attested by several persons. A prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; he replied, that it was not in his power to forbear; when his cough increasing, he was commanded, a second time, to be silent; but this being impossible, they stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully, that his cough grew worse; and the blows being again repeated, he died soon after.

By this silence which the guards or keepers force prisoners to keep, they not only deny them every little consolation, but prevent such as are neighbors from making the least acquaintance; for, the instant this should be found, they would be removed to other cells.

They never lodge two prisoners in the same cell; to prevent (as the Inquisitors pretend) their consulting together, in order to suppress or conceal the truth, or to baffle the interrogatories; but the chief motive for keeping those unhappy persons apart, is to extort from them, by the dread solitude of their confinement, a confession of whatever the Inquisitors may require from them.

However, on some occasions, two prisoners are lodged together in the same cell; as for instance, when a husband and wife are imprisoned for the like crime; and there is no room to suspect, that one of

them will prevent the other from freely confessing the several articles of which he or she may stand indicted. When a prisoner is sick, a companion is given him, in order to assist him, as he is told. Likewise, when the Inquisitors have not been able to prevail with a prisoner to plead guilty, and that there are not proofs sufficient to convict him; they then send him a companion, who has been taught his lesson beforehand, by the officers of the Inquisition; and this companion artfully glides into the confidence of the prisoner; wins his friendship; and inveighs strongly against the Inquisitors, accuses them of injustice, cruelty and barbarity; and, insensibly, causes the unhappy victim to join his reproaches, against the Inquisitors and the Inquisition. This is a black and unpardonable crime; and should the prisoner fall inadvertently into this trap, he would be inevitably undone; for then his companion immediately desires to be admitted to audience; appears as a witness against him; and is no longer his fellow prisoner.

A day or two after a prisoner is brought into his cell, his hair is cut off, and his head shaved. On these occasions no distinction is made in age, sex, or birth. He then is ordered to tell his name, his profession; and to make a discovery of whatever he is worth in the world. To induce him to do this the more readily, the Inquisitor promises, that, if he be really innocent, the several things disclos-

ed by him will be carefully restored; but that, should any effects, &c. concealed by him, be afterwards found, they all will be confiscated, though he may cleared. As most of the Portuguese are so weak, as to be firmly persuaded of the sanctity and integrity of this tribunal, they do not scruple to discover even such things as they might most easily conceal; from a firm belief that every particular will be restored to them, the moment their innocence shall be proved. However, these hapless persons are imposed upon; for those who have the sad misfortune to fall into the merciless hands of the iniquitous judges, are instantly bereaved of all their possessions. In case they plead their innocence with regard to the crimes of which they stand accused, and yet should be convicted by the witnesses who swore against them, they then would be sentenced as guilty, and their whole possessions confiscated. If prisoners, in order to escape the torture, and in hopes of being sooner set at liberty, own the crime or crimes of which they are impeached, they then are pronounced guilty by their own confession; and the public in general think their effects, &c. justly confiscated. If such prisoners come forth as repentant criminals, who had accused themselves voluntarily, they yet dare not plead their innocence; since they thereby would run the hazard of being imprisoned again, and sentenced, not only as hypocritical penitents; but like-

wise as wretches who accuse the Inquisitors of injustice; so that, what course soever these persons might take, they would certainly lose all such possessions belonging to them, as the Inquisitors had seized.

Sometimes a prisoner passes several months in his cell, without hearing a single word of his being brought to trial; without his knowing the crime of which he stands impeached, or a single witness who swore against him. At last the gaoler tells him, as of his own accord, that it will be proper for him to sue to be admitted to audience. He then is conducted, for the first time, bare-headed to the judges; an under goaler walking first, himself next, and lastly the gaoler. Being come to the doors of the Inquisition, the first mentioned knocks thrice, upon which the door is opened by one of the attendants on, or porter of theInquisition. The prisoner, &c. are then commanded to stay in this anti-chamber, until the porter has knocked three times at the door of the great hall of the Inquisition. This is done in order to give the Inquisitors time to prepare for, and receive the prisoner; that is, for him to dismiss all persons to whom he may be giving audience; thereby to prevent the prisoners from seeing, or being seen by them.

Every thing being ready, pursuant to the orders given for that purpose, the judge who presides in the great hall, answers by a little bell; upon which the

porter of the hall in question opens the door. The prisoner then enters, guarded by the two officers before mentioned, who advancing towards the table, give the prisoner a stool; after which they retire, bending the knee.

Then the president bids the prisoner kneel; ordering him at the same time, to lay his right hand on a book, which is shut. He then addresses him as follows: "Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth?"—The prisoner answering in the affirmative, the president commands him to sit down; then asks him a great variety of questions with regard to crimes cognizable by the Inquisition.

The secretary writes down very accurately, the several interrogatories and answers; which being done, he rings the little bell, when the prisoner is conveyed back to his cell, in the same manner as brought from it; but not till he has been exhorted to recollect all the sins he may have committed, ever since his being come to years of discretion.

The Inquisitors do not confine their power merely to the living, or to those who die in their prisons.

They even prosecute such as died many years before their being indicted; cause their bodies to be dug up, and burn their bones in the Auto da Fe. They likewise confiscate their possessions, of which they do not scruple to dispossess the heirs, not excepting even their children. It is certain that noth-

ing can be easier than to condemn bones, as these are unable to defend themselves; but such proceedings will not be wondered at, when the reader is assured that such of the living as become victims to the Inquisitors, are not better heard in their own justification than if they were really dead.

Among the several instances of prosecuting dead bodies in England, are the following.* When cardinal Pool went, after the accession of Queen Mary, to the university of Cambridge, to restore all things to their former state; a prosecution with regard to taking up the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius was commenced. The dead persons were accordingly cited by two edicts, and various witnesses brought against them. No one undertaking their defence, they were condemned for contumacy; and on the same day sentence was pronounced before the whole university; by which their bodies were ordered to be dug up, and delivered to the queen's officers. An order was afterwards sent from her majesty, to inflict the punishment. In fine, Feb. 6th the bodies were dug up; when a large stake being fixed in the ground, in the market place, the coffins, with the bodies in them, were set up on end, being fastened on both sides, and bound to the post, with a long iron chain. The pile was then fired, a great number of protestant

*Bzovius, An. 1556.

books were thrown into the flames, and consumed with the bodies. Not long after, Brookes, bishop of Glocester, treated the corps of Catherine, wife of Peter Martyr, in a most barbarous manner. She dying a few years before, had been buried in Christ Church, near the remains of St. Fridiswide, who was greatly venerated in that college: for no other reason than this—Catherine was convicted of imbibing her husband's heresy, was condemned, and her dead body being dug up, was carried upon men's shoulders, and cast upon a dunghill. However, in queen Elizabeth's reign, her corpse, by order of archbishop Parker, and other commissioners, was taken from the dunghill, and buried in its former place.

After judgment has passed on all the prisoners, a mock religious ceremony is performed; when they all walk in dismal procession to St. Dominick's church, and there hear their articles of impeachment read, together with the sentences.

CEREMONY OF THE

AUTO DA FE,

OR ACT OF FAITH.

The following is a succinct description of an Auto da Fe, solemnized at Madrid.

The officers of the Inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched in cavalcade to the place of the great square; where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June, the sentences of the prisoners condemned to the flames, and to other punishments, would be put into execution. There had not been a spectacle of this kind, in Madrid, during forty years before, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants, with as much impatience as though it had been the merriest holiday. The 30th of June at length came, and numberless multitudes of people appeared in as splendid attire as for a royal wedding. In the great square was raised a high scaffold: into this square from seven in the morning, till nine at night, came criminals of both sexes; all the Inquisitors in the kingdom having sent their prisoners to Madrid. The prosecutions and sentences were read aloud. There were twenty Jews,

men and women, and one Renegado Mahometan, who were all burnt. Fifty Jews and Jewesses having never been imprisoned before, and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long imprisonment, and to wear a yellow scapulary. Ten more being indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes were sentenced to be whipt, and afterwards sent to the gallies; those wore large paste-board caps with inscriptions on them; having halters about their necks, and torches in their hands.

The whole court was present: the king, the queen, the embassadors, courtiers, with the numberless multitude. The Inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal, far above that of the king. The unhappy victims were executed so near to the place where the king stood, that he could distinctly hear their groans; the scaffold on which they stood touching his balcony. The nobles of Spain, acted here the same part as the sheriffs' officers in England. Those noblemen led such criminals as were to be burnt; and held them when they were fast bound with thick cords; the rest of the criminals being conducted by the familiars, or common servants of the Inquisition. Several friars, both learned and ignorant, argued with great vehemence, to convince these unhappy creatures of the truth of the christian religion, as practised by them. Some of the Jewish criminals were perfectly well skilled

in their religion; and made the most surprising defence, and that without the least emotion. Among them was a maiden of exquisite beauty, and but seventeen years of age; who being on the same side with the queen, addressed her, in hopes of obtaining her pardon, as follows: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? have regard to my youth; and consider that I profess a religion which I imbibed from my infancy." The queen turned away her eyes, and though she seemed greatly to pity her distress, yet she did not dare to speak a word in her behalf.

Now mass began, in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose. The chief Inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, having a mitre on his head; after bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony; went up to it by the stairs, at the end of the scaffold; attended by some officers of the Inquisition, carrying the cross and the gospels; with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the catholic faith; to extirpate heretics; and to support, with all their power, the prosecutions of the Inquisition.

The king standing up, bareheaded, having, on one side, the constable of Castile, who held the royal sword lifted, swore to maintain the oath, which was

read by a counsellor of the royal council. His majesty continued his posture till the Inquisitor returned to his place; when a secretary of the Inquisition mounted a sort of pulpit, and read the like oath, administering it to the counsellors and the whole assembly. Mass began about twelve, and did not end till nine at night, because of the sentences of the several criminals: they being all read aloud, one after another. The intrepidity with which those hapless prisoners suffered death, was very astonishing. Some threw themselves into the fire; others burnt their hands, and afterwards their feet, thrusting them into the flames, and holding them therein with astonishing resolution. I, says the author, did not go to see the executions, it being midnight, and a considerable distance from my abode. I was likewise so deeply struck with the sight of them in the day time, that it put me very much out of order. The king could not be absent from this horrid spectacle, as it was a religious one; he being obliged to give a sanction, by his presence, to all acts of the Inquisition. This extreme severity does not contribute in the least to the conversion of the Jews. There are great numbers of them in Madrid, who are known to be such, and yet enjoy posts in the treasury, and live unmolested. Thus far this author, who was a Romanist. If so many of these exclaim against the Inquisition, what moderation can be expected from a protestant.

The learned Doctor Geddes, thus describes an Auto da Fe in Lisbon, of which himself was a spectator. The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the civil magistrate, than they are loaded with chains, before the eyes of the Inquisitors; and being carried first to the secular gaol, are, within an hour or two, brought from thence before the Lord Chief Justice, who, without knowing any thing of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was given in against them, asks them, one by one, in what religion they intend to die? If they answer that they will die in the communion of the church of Rome, they are condemned by him, to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled and afterwards burnt to ashes: but if they say they will die in the protestant, or in any other faith that is contrary to the Romish, they then are sentenced by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.

At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are as many stakes set up, as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the professed, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high; and have a small board, whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of the top. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt; the professed go up a ladder, betwixt the two Jesuites, who attended them all day; and,

when they are come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the professed to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which, if they refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the executioner ascends; and having turned the professed off the ladder upon the seat, and chained their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them; and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their exhortation to them; and at parting tell them that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, so soon as they are out of their bodies. Upon this a great shout is raised; and as soon as the Jesuits are off the ladder, the cry is, let the dogs beards be made; which is done by thrusting flaming furzes fastened to a long pole against their faces. And this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burnt to a coal; and is always accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy, as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a bull feast or a farce being dull entertainments, to the using a professed heretic thus inhumanly.

The professed beards being thus made, or trimmed, as they call it in jollity; fire is set to the furze, which is at the bottom of the stake, and above which the professed are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the

seat they sit on ; and if there happens to be a wind, to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reaches so high as their knees. So that if there is a calm, the professed are commonly dead in about half an hour after the furze is set on fire ; but if the weather is windy, they are not, after that, dead in an hour and a half, or two hours; and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death. But though out of hell, there cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferers (so long as they are able to speak) cries, Miserecordia por amor de Dios, "Mercy for the love of God;" yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with. Doctor Geddes, further observes, "That this inhuman joy is not the effect of natural cruelty, but arises from the spirit of their religion ; a proof of which is, that all public malefactors, except heretics, are no where more tenderly lamented than by the Portuguese ; and even when there is nothing in the manner of their deaths that appear inhuman or cruel."

THE SOLEMNIZATION OF THE

AUTO DA FE,

IN WHICH JOHN COUSTOS HAD THE ILL FATE TO WALK.

A fortnight before the solemnization of this Auto da Fe, notice was given in all the churches, that it would be celebrated on Sunday the 21st June. At the same time, all who intended to be spectators thereof, were exhorted not to ridicule the prisoners, but rather pray to God for their conversion. On Saturday, the 20th of the month above-mentioned, we were all ordered to get ready by next morning; and, at the same time, a band was given to each of us, and old black clothes to such as had none.

Those accused of Judaism, and who, through fear of the torture, confessed their being such, were distinguished by large scapularies called san benidos. This is a piece of yellow stuff, about two ells long; and in the middle of which a hole is made, to put the head through: on it were sowed stripes of red stuff, and this falls behind and before, in form of a St. Andrew's cross. Those who are condemned for sorcery, magic, &c. wear the same kind of scapulary described above. They are distinguished only, by wearing a pasteboard cap, about a foot and a half high, on which the devils and

flames are painted; and, at the bottom the word WIZARD is writ in large characters.

I must observe, that all such persons as are not sentenced to die, carry a lighted yellow wax taper in their hands. I was the only person to whom one was not given, on account of my being an obstinate protestant.

The relapsed Jews, and such heretical Roman Catholics, as are sentenced to die for not confessing the crimes whereof they are accused, are dressed in grey samaras, much shorter than the san benidos above-mentioned. The face of the person who wears it, is copied (before and behind) from the life, standing on firebrands; with flames curling upwards, and devils round it, at the bottom of the samara their names and surnames are writ.

Blasphemers are dressed as above, and distinguished only by a gag in their mouths.

The prisoners being thus habited, the procession opened with the Dominican Friars, preceded by the banner of their order. Afterwards came the banner and crucifix of the Inquisition, which was followed by the criminals, each whereof walked between two familiars, who were to be answerable for them, and bring back to prison, such as were not to be executed, after the procession was ended.

The accompanying prisoners on these dismal occasions is thought so great an honour, that such as attend to execution, these unhappy victims, and

even lean upon them, are always the first noblemen in the kingdom ; who are so proud of acting in this character, that they would not resign that honour for any other that should be offered them ; so cruelly blind is their zeal.

Next came the Jewish converts, followed by such as were indicted for witchcraft and magic, and had confessed their crimes.

The procession closed with the unhappy wretches who were sentenced to the flames.

The march then began, when the whole procession walked round the court of the chief Inquisitor's palace, in presence of the king, the royal family, and the whole court, who were come thither for this purpose. The prisoners having all gone through the court, proceeded along one of the sides of Rocio Square ; and went down Odreyros-street ; when, returning by Escudeyros-street, and up another side of Rocio-Square, they came, at last, to St. Dominick's church, which was hung, from top to bottom, with red and yellow tapestry.

Before the high altar was built an amphitheatre, with a pretty considerable number of steps, on which to seat all the prisoners and their attendant familiars. Opposite was raised another great altar, after the Romish fashion, on which was placed a crucifix surrounded with several lighted tapers, and mass books. To the right of this was a pulpit, and to the left, a gallery, magnificently adorned,

for the king, the royal family, the great men of the kingdom, and the foreign ministers, to sit in. To the right of this gallery, was a long one, for the Inquisitors; and between these two galleries, a room, whither the Inquisitors retire to hear the confessions of those who, terrified at the horrors of impending death, may be prompted to confess what they had before persisted in denying; they sometimes gladly snatch this last moment allowed them, to escape a cruel exit.

Every person being thus seated in the church, the preacher ascended the pulpit, whence he made a panegyric on the Inquisition; exhorted such prisoners as were not sentenced to die, to make good use of the clemency indulged them, by sincerely renouncing that instant, the heresies, and crimes of which they stood convicted. Then directing himself to the prisoners who were to be burnt, he exhorted them to make a good use of the little time left them, by making a sincere confession of their crimes, and thereby avoiding a cruel death.

During the sermon, the prisoners have some refreshments; the open air having a very strong effect on most, and the length of the march fatiguing them greatly. On this occasion dry fruits are given them, and as much water as they can drink.

The preacher being come from the pulpit, some priests belonging to the Inquisition ascend it successively, to read the trial of each prisoner, who

was standing all the time holding a lighted taper. Each prisoner, after hearing it, returned to his place. This lasted till ten at night.

The trials of all the prisoners not sentenced to die, being read, the president of the Inquisition, drest in his sacerdotal vestments, appeared with a book in his hand; after which, five or six priests in surplices, tapped, with a sort of wand, the heads and shoulders of the prisoners; saying certain prayers used in the Romish church, when the excommunication is taken off.

Then another priest went up into the pulpit, to read the trials of the ill fated persons sentenced to the flames; after which these sad victims were delivered up to the secular power, whose officers took them to the Relacaon,* whither the king went. Thus the Inquisition, to conceal their cruelties, call in the secular arm, which condemns the prisoners to die; or rather ratifies the sentence past by the Inquisitors. This lasted till six in the morning.

At last these miserable creatures, accompanied by the familiars and priests, were conducted under the guard of a detachment of foot, to Campo da Laa, or the Woolfield. Here they were fastened, with chains, to posts, and seated on pitch barrels. Afterwards the king appeared in a sorry coach, at

* A senate house, or court of judicature.

which were ropes instead of harnesses. He then ordered the friars to exhort each of the victims to die in the Romish faith, upon pain of being burnt alive; but to declare, that such as complied with the exhortation of the priest, should be strangled before they were committed to the flames. His majesty staid till all the prisoners were executed.

In this Auto da Fe, were burnt the following persons, convicted of various heresies, and obstinate, viz.

Father Joseph de Saguira, a priest.

Theresa Carvalla, a widow.

Francis Dias Cabaco, a scrivener.

Charles Joseph, a barber.

Likewise, Gabriel Rodriguez Bicudo, a shoemaker, who, after publicly abjuring Judaism in a former Auto da Fe; and being taken up a second time for committing a like crime, was convicted and proved obstinate.

Pedro de Rates Henequim, living on his estate, condemned for inventing, writing, following and defending the doctrines of heretics; for turning heresiarch with execrable blasphemies; convicted, false, dissembling, confident, varying and impenitent.

Josepha Maria, spinster, daughter of Gabriel Roderiguez Bicudo, abjuring in the same manner as her father, (above) and convicted a second time; false, dissembling, and impenitent.

Mecia da Costa, a widow, reconciled in a former Auto da Fe, for the crime of witchcraft, and living apart from the catholic faith ; making a contract with the devil, whom she worshipped as God ; convicted, denying, obstinate and relapsed.

The instant these sad victims were delivered up to the secular arm, the remainder were led back, with much ceremony, about ten at night, from St. Dominick's church to the Inquisition. Having arrived there, we were carried through several galleries, till we came to the abode allotted us. Here were several chambers, the doors of which were open ; when each of us chose that which he liked best.—To each there was given a straw bed, a blanket, and sheets. Most of these things were far from being clean, there not having been an Auto da Fe, for two years previous. The women were lodged a story above us.

Being thus settled we thought ourselves the happiest persons upon earth, although we had little to boast of. However, we now had an opportunity of breathing the fresh air ; enjoying the light of the sky, and view of a garden ; in a word, we had the consolation of reflecting that we were not to be put to death. The alcayde or gaoler, and his brother-keeper brought each of us a loaf, a cake, and water sufficient for the whole company ; permitting us, at the same time, to divert ourselves, provided we did not make a noise. This was the first time we had

supped in the Inquisition with any satisfaction.—Having been greatly fatigued by the ceremony described in the foregoing pages, I slept very soundly.

From the time of our return from the procession, we were supported at the expense of the Cardinal-Inquisitor, and not at that of the mock holy office.—We were soon sensible of this change of masters, not only by the advantages already described; but by the permission allowed us, of sending to our relations and friends, for such provisions as we might want, if we did not like those given us, or had not sufficient to satisfy our appetites. It would be the highest ingratitude in me not to mention the very essential favours which I, as well as the 3 brethren, my fellow prisoners, received from the free-masons at Lisbon. They obtained leave to visit us, which gave us inexpressible joy; and their bounty proved of the most signal advantage to us. We imagined at first the reason of our confinement in this part of the prison, was to accustom us, by insensible degrees, to the open air; and to dispel the dreadful melancholy which had so long oppressed us. But the true cause was, that each of us might be prepared for conveyance to the place of his doom; to put into our hands a bill of the expenses the Inquisitors had been at; and to give the various officers the necessary instructions relating to us.

In the course of one week from our confinement in the prison, some were banished; such as had

more husbands or wives than one, were whipped through the streets of Lisbon ; and others, among whom I was one, were sent to the galley.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GALLEY.

The Portuguese galley is a prison standing by the river side, and consists of two very spacious rooms built one over the other. That on the ground floor is the apartment of the slaves, and the other is for the sick and the officers of this prison ; it being the receptacle, not only of such as are condemned by the Inquisitors, but likewise by the lay judges. Among these prisoners are Turks and Moors, taken on board the corsair vessels ; together with fugitive slaves, and bad servants, sent by their masters, to this galley, as a chastisement.

All prisoners, of whatever quality, are employed in toils equally low and grievous. Some work in the dock-yards, carrying timber to the carpenters, unloading ships, and providing water and provisions for victualling such as are outward bound. They likewise carry water to the prisoners in Lisbon ; and for the king's gardens. In a word, they are obliged to submit to any labour, however igno-

minious or painful, for the service of his Portuguese majesty, or for the officers who command them. They are treated with the greatest severity and cruelty, unless they find means to bribe their overseers to gentleness, by giving them, at intervals, a little money.

In this galley, all the slaves are fastened two and two, by one foot only, with a chain eight feet long. At their girdle is an iron hook, by which, they shorten or lengthen their chain, to make the weight less troublesome. Their heads and beards are shaved once a month. They wear coarse blue cloaths, caps and coats; and have a great coat, made of coarse serge of the same colour, which serves them as a cloak in the day time- and a coverlet at night. They lie in a kind of board frame, raised a little from the ground, over which a mat is spread.

To every galley slave is given, each, a pound and a half of very dry, black biscuit; with six pounds of salt meat every month, and a bushel of pease, lentils or beans, which they are allowed to sell if they choose and purchase better provisions.

They are led early every morning, a few festivals excepted, wherever their drudgery may be wanted. They then toil incessantly until eleven, when they leave work, to eat and rest themselves, and at one they again renew their miserable labours, and continue until night, when they are con-

ducted back to the galley. Such is the daily life which these unhappy wretches lead.

When any of them are taken sick, they are removed to the other great room, where proper care is taken of them by the physicians, snrgeons, &c. It is incumbent on me to do justice to them in this particular. The sick are here treated with all imaginable care and humanity. Those whose stomachs are too weak to digest strong aliments, have good broth, on which occasion chickens are not spared. But it is far otherwise with regard to puni shments: their task-masters exercising the most unbounded cruelty for the smallest fault; those unhappy slaves, being laid on their bellies, are fastened to a ladder, when two men whip alternately their bare posteriors with a bull's pizzle, or a thick pitched rope.—In this manner the sufferers often receive two or three hundred lashes, whereby the skin is not only flead, but pieces of flesh are torn away; so that the surgeons are obliged to make deep incisions, to prevent a mortification. These wounds often become ulcerous, and many are disabled for life. In short, the barbarities exercised by this tribunal are so great and so various, that Oldham might justly put the following words into the mouth of Ignatius Loyola:

"Let th' Inquisition rage, fresh cruelties
Make the dire engines groan with tortur'd cries

Let Campo Flori every day be strew'd
With the warm ashes of the Lutheran brood:
Repeat again Bohemian slaughter o'er;
And Piedmont vallies drown with floating gore:
Swifter than murdering angels when they fly,
On errands of avenging destiny.
Fiercer than storms let loose, with eager haste
Lay cities, countries, realms, whole nature waste.
Sack, ravish, burn, destroy, slay, massacre,
Fill the same grave their lives and names inter."

INJUSTICE AND CRUELTY

OF THE

INQUISITION.

The pretended zeal of the Inquisitors for preserving religion in all its purity, is merely a cloak to hide their boundless ambition, their insatiable thirst of riches, and their vindictive spirit.

The emperor Frederic, mentioned in the foregoing pages, who first invested the Inquisitors with great privileges, was the first who made the most cruel abuse of them. All who opposed his will were deemed heretics, and judged and burnt as such.—He committed to the flames upon the false pretence of heresy, so great a number of Romanists that pope Gregory could not forbear representing to him in the most serious terms, that it became him to extirpate heretics only, and not the true sons of the church. The monarch did not foresee that the court of Rome might turn those very weapons against him which he had employed so unjustly against a multitude of christians. He was afterwards sensible of his error, but too late: in 1239 he was impeached as a heretic; and being judged, was excommunicated as such; and his subjects freed from the allegiance they had sworn to him;

though his heresy was no more, than his having opposed the unlimited power which the popes pretended to exercise over all christians, not excepting even crowned heads.

Elezine, lord of Padua, whose heresy was only too great attachment to the emperor Frederic, was likewise excommunicated, and Inquisitors appointed to prosecute him for this pretended crime. Accordingly he was summoned to appear in Rome, whither he sent persons of reputation to declare his innocence. But they were not allowed to be heard, the pope insisting that he should be heard in person; and upon his refusing to obey this order, the Roman pontiff sent the bishop of Treviso to inform Elezine, that he would render himself obnoxious to all punishments inflicted on heretics, in case he refused to appear personally in Rome, sometime in August 1251; and further, that if he did not submit to all the pope's injunctions, he would be declared infamous and a heretic; himself and his possessions seized, and a crusade sent against him and his adherents. In fine, sentence was passed against this lord in 1254, whereby he was pronounced a heretic, and all his possessions confiscated in favour of his brother Albert.

About the same time, Count de Toulouse fell a victim to the cruel power of the Roman pontiffs and their wicked agents. His dominions were sacked by crusaders, whom the pope had sent out against

him. In fine, this count, though a zealous Romanist, could find no other way to extricate himself, than by making a submission, too mean and servile for a prince, whose only crime was his strong attachment to Frederic, then at variance with the court of Rome; and his not persecuting his own subjects, who were accused, by that court of heresy.

The Spanish Inquisitors cited Jane, daughter of the emperor Charles V. to appear before their tribunal; to be examined concerning another person, with regard to some articles of faith, which the Inquisitors declared were heretical. The emperor himself stood in such awe of the Inquisition, that he commanded his daughter, in case she thought the person accused ever so little guilty, not to delay her information, to avoid the sentence of excommunication, levelled not only against other persons, but against himself. The princess, in compliance with this command, immediately gave in her deposition to Valdes, archbishop of Seville, then Inquisitor General.

The Inquisition of Arragon proceeded to still greater lengths; it having the insolence to prosecute Don Carlos, eldest son to Don John II. king of Arragon.

The Inquisition of Castile distinguished itself in a manner equally daring and horrid; this tribunal attempted to prosecute the memory of the empe-

ror Charles V. and to sentence his will to the flames, as heretical; together with all those persons who had the greatest share in this monarch's friendship.

The following is an account of that incident, as related by Thaunus, d'Aubinne, and le Laboureur.

This emperor's retreat had given rise to various reports. One of these was, that he had contracted, by his almost continual correspondence with the protestants of Germany, an inclination for their opinions; and yet the sole motive of his withdrawing to a solitude, was, that he might have an opportunity of ending his days in exercises of piety conformable to his secret disposition. It was likewise affirmed, that his ill treatment of several of those brave protestant princes, whom he had subdued by force of arms, extorted from him such an admiration of their constancy in ill fortune, as made him almost blush for his conquests; and raised in him, by insensible degrees, an esteem for their religion. A circumstance which added to the probability of these reports, was, his making choice of persons suspected of heresy to be the companions of his retreat, and the directors of his conscience. Dr. Calculla was his preacher; and his confessors were the archbishop of Toledo, and especially Constantine Pontius, bishop of Drossin. This report was strengthened by the great number of passages, written with the emperor's own hand, on the walls of his cell at St. Justus' where he died; these agree-

ing nearly with the tenets of the protestants, on justification and grace.

But a circumstance which confirmed this opinion still more, was, his will not being drawn up after the manner of the Roman Catholics; I mean, that no pious legacies were read therein, nor any monies bequeathed for saying masses, which gave offence to the Inquisitors. However, they did not dare to speak openly on this occasion, till they should first know the sentiments of Philip II. and whether he would not be offended at the prosecution; but this prince, on his ascending the throne, signalized himself by persecuting all those who had shook off the papal yoke; so that the Inquisitors, in imitation of him, first prosecuted the archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain, afterwards Caculla, and last of all Constantine Pontius.

As the king permitted them to be imprisoned, this was considered as an undoubted proof of his zeal for the Romish religion: but the most judicious were struck with horror, when they saw the emperor's confessor, in whose arms he died, delivered up, by his own son, to a most ignominious and cruel punishment.

The Inquisitors could not forbear showing, that they were prompted to this horrid act, by no other views than those of interest; since, in the trials of the three persons above mentioned, they charged them with being concerned in drawing up the empe-

tor's will; and sentenced both it and them to the flames.

Philip, who hitherto had beheld with the utmost indifference, the conduct of the Inquisitors, now roused as from a lethargy; and reflecting on the opinion the world would form of him, should he not stop a prosecution so injurious to the memory of his royal father, and which might likewise be attended with fatal consequences, he endeavoured, secretly, to stop the prosecution; but employed at the same time, gentle expedients, for fear of offending the Inquisitors.

Don Carlos, only son to king Philip, being a prince of great vivacity; and entertaining the utmost veneration for his grandfather's memory, was highly offended at this insult upon it. Not knowing all the extent of the power of this horrid tribunal, he inveighed against it; and, after blaming his father's weakness, spoke publicly of this design of the Inquisitors, as a shocking and unheard of attempt.—He even went so far as to threaten to extirpate, one day or other, the Inquisition, and all its agents, for this abominable outrage. But this generous prince paid dear for these passionate expressions; the Inquisitors being determined to sacrifice him to their vengeance, and hasten his end.

However, this dispute between the king and the Inquisition was afterwards adjusted. Caculla was burnt alive, with the effigy of Constantine Pon-

tius, who died in prison some days before. The archbishop of Toledo appealed to Rome, and extricated himself by money and friends. After this no farther mention was made of the emperor's will.

Though this reconciliation might pacify the prince of Spain, the Inquisitors were far from being appeased; it being one of their chief maxims, never to forgive. In this view they raised so great a spirit of discontent among the common people, that the king was forced to remove Don Carlos from court; together with Don John his brother, and the Prince of Parma, his nephew, who had shared in Don Carlos's just resentment against the Inquisitors.

This cruel tribunal had not yet satiated its revenge. Some years after it imputed to this young prince, as a crime, the compassion he had extended to the inhabitants of the Neth erlands who were treated barbarously. They declared that as all the people in question were heretics, the prince must necessarily be one, since he set up for their defender. In fine, they gained so strange an ascendency over the king's mind, that he, inspired by a most unnatural spirit of bigotry, and being afraid of the Inquisitors, sentenced his son to die. The only indulgence the latter met with on this occasion, was to have the species of death left to his choice. The ill-fated prince, Roman-like, had recourse to

the hot bath; when opening the veins of his arms and legs, he died gradually. Thus did this excellent young prince fall a martyr to the merciless Inquisitors.

The year 1580 furnishes us with another very remarkable instance, of the assuming spirit of this pretended holy tribunal.

Cardinal Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, who afterwards was canonized, on his visit to certain places in his diocess, subordinate to him as to spirituals, and to the Swiss cantons as to temporals; thought it necessary to make some regulations for the good of these churches.

The Swiss took umbrage at this conduct; when, without addressing the archbishop, they sent an embassador to the governor of Milan, intreating him not to let the prelate continue his visitation in the places subject to them; and to assure him, that in case of refusal, they would employ force; which must break the harmony it so highly concerned his sovereign, the king of Spain to preserve.

The ambassador having arrived in Milan, lodged at a rich merchant's house of his acquaintance. The Inquisitor was no sooner informed of this, than, disregarding the law of nations, and the fatal consequences with which so great an outrage might be attended; went with all his officers, to the ambassador's abode; when causing him to be shackled in his presence, he hurried him away to the prison of

the Inquisition. Though all persons were struck with horror, at such an insult offered to a state in the person of its ambassador, yet no one dared to make the least opposition. The merchant was the only person who interested himself in his favour; he waiting upon the governor of Milan, told him the cruel usage the ambassador had met with. The governor sent for the Inquisitor, and obliged him to release the ambassador that instant; which being done, he paid him all imaginable honours, and complied with his several demands. Thus the Swiss were informed of their ambassador's release almost at the same time with the news of his imprisonment, otherwise they would have seized the cardinal, and used him exactly as the Inquisitors had treated their ambassador. The governor afterwards informed the archbishop, by a letter, that the interest of his catholic majesty required absolutely, that he should discontinue his visitations; which being done, things were quiet.

The instances here given, prove sufficiently, that if the Inquisitors had kept within the bounds which the popes pretended to set to them, in establishing their tribunal; (I mean the rooting up of heresy,) and had not concerned themselves with politics; they would not have behaved so insolently towards monarchs, &c. Let us now see some other examples of their treatment to persons distinguished by their birth and employments.

Mark Antonio de Dominis was of a most illustrious Venetian family. He first entered among the Jesuits; was afterwards bishop of Segni, and at last archbishop of Spalatro and primate of Dalmatia. He was thought the best skilled of any man of the age, in every branch of literature; especially in divinity and history, both sacred and profane. This prelate was consulted as an oracle, on every subject, and gave the highest satisfaction to all querists. Imbibing protestant principles, he defended them with the utmost vigour, in his Republica Ecclesiastica; and at the same time wrote with greater vehemence against the pope and the court of Rome, than its most inveterate enemies had ever done.

The passionate desire the prelate had to print this work in his life-time, and the little probability there was of his being able to stay in Italy after its publication, made him retired to Germany; whence he afterwards went to England, whither he was invited by James I. king of Great Britain. Mark Antonio met with a gracious reception from this theological monarch; giving him an honourable support; and doing all that lay in his power, to engage him to renounce the errors of the church of Rome.

On the other hand, the pope, whether he was willing to leave a man of so exalted a character, in the hands of the enemies to the Romish church;

or rather, as it afterwards appeared, had resolved to be revenged of, and make a public example of him; set every engine at work to induce him to return to his native country. At last, Don Diego Sarmiento da Cunna, the Spanish ambassador at the British court, made Mark Antonio such splendid offers, that he was prevailed upon to return to Italy.

This unhappy prelate then forgot the maxims he had so frequently inculcated in his works, viz.—that no person can offend the court of Rome with impunity, and that it never pardons an injury: for Mark Antonio, spite of the strong exhortations of his friends in England, who were forever representing to him the dangers to which he would inevitably expose himself; set out for Rome, where he was no sooner arrived, than he found his mistake too late. The pontiff did not keep one of the promises made to Mark Antonio, but obliged him to abjure publicly the pretended heresies advanced in his books. He was now left, seemingly at liberty; but was ever followed by spies, who, at last, falsely swore that he carried on a secret correspondence with England. Immediately the Inquisitors seized this great man; but carrying on his prosecution with their usual dilatoriness, he died in prison, either through grief for the wrong steps taken by him, or through fear of the shameful and cruel punishment which he was sensible awaited him.

Alphonso Nobre, born in Villa Viziosa, and descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of that city, many of whom had filled those posts, which, in Portugal, are bestowed on none but noble persons; and all whose ancestors could not be reproached with the least tincture of Judaism, was seized and carried to the prisons of the Inquisition of Coimbra, upon the information of persons who swore that he was not a christian. Some time after, his only son and daughter were seized and confined in the same prison. These children, who were very young, impeached their father; whether excited thereto by evil counsellors, or that the tortures had extorted the impeachment from them. At last the unhappy father was sentenced to be burnt alive, on the depositions of his children. The day of the Auto da Fe being come, the son drew near to his parent, to crave forgiveness and his blessing, but the ill-fated father replied, "I pardon you both, though you are the sole cause of my ignominious and cruel death; as to my blessing, I cannot yet give it you; for he is not my son, who makes a pretended confession of untruths; and who, having been a Roman Catholic, shamefully denies his Saviour, by declaring nimself a Jew. Go, added he, unnatural son! I beseech Heaven to pardon you!" Being come, at last, to the stake, he discovered such great courage and resolution; made such pathetic discourses, and addressed him-

self with so much fervour to the Almighty, as filled all his hearers with admiration, and caused them to look upon his judges with horror.

In the same Auto da Fe were likewise burnt Donna Beatrix Carvalho, of a noble family of Elvas, and wife to Jacomo de Mello; she being sentenced to die for Judaism, on the oaths of her children. There is no doubt but that, had the Inquisitors acted with sincerity and equity, and with a real intention to find out the truth, they might have discovered the innocence of the lady, as well as that of Signior Nobre, by comparing the confessions which each of their children had made separately, with the depositions of the witnesses. A wide difference would certainly have been found, on this occasion, in the facts and circumstances. Truth admits of no variation; and is ever the same in the mouths of those who follow its dictates. Thus, by confronting them, new lights must have been struck out; but then the doing this would not have brought on the confiscation of the possessions of the two victims, the swallowing up of which was the sole view of the Inquisitors.

Joseph Pereira Meneses, captain general of his Portuguese majesty's fleets in India, was ordered by the governor of Goa to sail, with his fleet, to the succour of the city of Diu, then besieged by the Arabs. Proceeding on his voyage, he was detained by contrary winds, at Bacaim; whereby the

Arabs had an opportunity of plundering Diu, and of coming back laden with rich spoils, before the arrival of the succours brought by Pereira Meneses. This commander having returned to Goa, was immediately seized by order of Antonio de Mello de Castro, governor of that place, and a sworn enemy to Pereira. His prosecution was then ordered, when he was accused of loitering at Bacaim, purposely to avoid engaging the enemy; and thus to have caused by his neglect and cowardice, the ruin and plunder of Diu. However, as governors are not permitted to put commanders to death, without first obtaining an express order from the court of Portugal, Antonio de Mello could not take away his enemy's life; for which reason he pronounced such a sentence upon him, as was more intolerable than death itself to a man of honour. Pereira, pursuant to the judgment passed upon him, was led by the common executioner through the streets, with a halter about his neck, and a distaff at his side. A herald walking before, cried aloud, That this punishment was inflicted on him by the king, for being a coward and traitor. Pereira was then carried back to prison, where a familiar of the Inquisition came and demanded him. This fresh step surprised every one, who knew that he could not justly be accused of Judaism, as he was of an ancient christian family, and had always behaved with honour.—The day of the Auto da Fe was

therefore expected with impatience by the people, that his crime might be made known to them: but how great was their surprise, when the prisoner did not come forth in the procession.

Pereira had long been engaged in a quarrel with a gentleman, once his intimate friend, and who was seemingly reconciled to him before this misfortune. This false friend, harbouring a secret resolution to revenge himself whenever an opportunity should offer, thought this imprisonment of Pereira the most favourable for his purpose, that could have happened.

He now suborned five of Pereira's domestics, who accused their master to the Inquisitors of sodomy; making oath that they had seen him perpetrate that abominable crime with one of his pages, who thereupon was seized. The latter having less courage than his master; and dreading a cruel death, in case he should not do all he was commanded; and finding no other way to save his life than by pleading guilty, charged himself with a crime of which he was entirely innocent; and thus became, pursuant to the practice of the Inquisitors, a fresh witness against his master. The servant, by this confession, saved his own life, and was banished to Mozambique in Africa.

In the mean time, as Pereira persisted in declaring himself innocent, he was condemned to be burnt alive; and would have been committed to the

flames, had not his continual protestations of innocence; or rather a secret esteem which the Inquisitors ever entertained for him, made them suspend his execution, for the purpose of trying to prevail with him to make a confession; or find opportunities to clear up the affair. For this reason he was ordered to remain in prison till next Auto da Fe.

During this interval, the Inquisitors examined the prisoner and his witnesses several times; when interrogating the latter separately, whether the moon shone the night in which, pursuant to their oath, their master committed the detestable crime in question, they varied in their answers. Being now put to the torture, they denied all they before had swore against their master. The accusers were then seized, and Joseph Pereira being declared innocent, came out of prison next Auto da Fe, stripped of all his possessions, and quite ruined. His chief accuser was banished during nine years to Africa, and the witnesses were sent to the galley for five years.

The above-mentioned example shows, that the Inquisitors make heresy a pretence, merely to seize upon the wealth of the innocent; and that this tribunal gives a wicked man the finest opportunity possible, to satiate his vengeance.

The spirit which animates the Inquisitors established in the East Indies, must be horrid, since even the Jesuits themselves, thus speak of them in their

universal Latin and French dictionary, printed at Trevoux: "The Inquisition (say the most righteous fathers) is vastly severe in India. 'Tis true, indeed, that seven witnesses are required to swear against a man before he can be condemned; but then the depositions of a slave, or of a child are admitted. The prisoner must be accused himself, and he never sees or is confronted with those who swear against him. A person who happens to let drop the least word against the church; or does not speak with sufficient reverence of the Inquisition, shall be impeached. The standard or banner of the Inquisition is of red silk; in which a cross is painted, having an olive bough on one side, and on the other a sword, with these words of the Psalmist round it:—"Arise, Lord, and judge thy cause."

What a solemn mockery have we here of scripture, and how detestable a use is made of a supplication of the psalmist! Is this religion?—Does this spirit descend from above? Surely no; but seems dictated rather by the black chiefs of Milton's infernal council.

The following instance proves that the Inquisitors will condemn an innocent person, rather than permit any of their accusations to be disproved.

A major in a Portuguese regiment was charged with professing Judaism privately, and hurried away to the prison of the Inquisition in Lisbon. Being descended of a family distinguished by the name

of new christians, this proved a great prejudice against him. He was then asked several times, the cause of his seizure, though he himself was an utter stranger to it. After he was kept in prison two years, the Inquisitors told him, that he was accused and duly convicted, of being a relapsed Jew, which he utterly denied; protesting that he had been always a true and faithful christian. In a word, they could not prevail with him, either by threats or promises, to plead guilty to any one article of which he stood impeached: declaring resolutely to his judges, that he would die with innocence, rather than preserve his life by an action which must cover him with eternal infamy.

Duke d'Aveyero, then Inquisitor-General, who was desirous of saving this officer, being one day upon his visitation, strongly exhorted him to embrace the opportunity he had of extricating himself; but the prisoner continuing inflexible, the Inquisitor was fired, and spoke thus to him; "Dost thou imagine that we'll have the lie on this occasion?" The Inquisitor then withdrew, leaving the prisoner to his reflections on what he had heard. Surely these words conveyed a meaning inconsistent with the character of an upright judge, and strongly spoke the iniquitous spirit of this tribunal.

To conclude, the Auto da Fe approaching, our victim was condemned to the flames, and a confessor sent to him. Terrified at this horrid death, he,

though entirely innocent, declared himself guilty of the crime laid to his charge. His possessions were then confiscated; after which he was made to walk in the procession, in the habit of one relapsed; and lastly, was sentenced to the gallies for five years.

William Lithgow, a Scotchman, had ever retained a strong inclination to travel. To gratify it, he first went to Malaga, and there agreed with the captain of a French ship, to carry him to Alexandria. Before this ship set sail, an English fleet, fitted out against the Algerines, came and cast anchor before Malaga, the 7th of October 1620; which threw the whole city into the utmost consternation, supposing them to belong to Mahomedans. But the next morning, they found their mistake, and the governor seeing the British cross in the flags, went on board the ship of the Admiral, Sir Robert Mansel, who received him with the greatest politeness; so that at his return, he removed the fears of the inhabitants, and made them lay down their arms. On the morrow, several of the crew came on shore; and being Lithgow's particular friends, spent some days in viewing the curiosities of the city, and in otherwise diverting themselves; and then inviting him on board, they presented him to the admiral, from whom he met with all imaginable civility. They kept Lithgow on board next day, after which he returned to Malaga, and the fleet set sail.

As Lithgow was returning to his quarters through

bye streets, with a view to carry all his things on board the French ship, which was to sail that night for Alexandria, he was seized by nine catchpoles, or officers, who took him before the governor, to whom he complained of the violence which had been done him. The governor answered only by a nod; and bid certain persons, with the town secretary; to go and examine him. This was to be transacted with all possible secrecy, to prevent the English merchants, residing in Malaga, from hearing of his arrest.

The council assembling, he was examined; and being suspected to be an English spy, they did all that lay in their power to make some discovery to that purpose, but in vain. They afterwards asked the names of the captains of the fleet; whether Lithgow, before his leaving England, did not know of its fitting out? Why he refused the offer which the English admiral made of taking him on board his ship? In a word, they affirmed that he was a spy; and that he had been nine months in Malaga, with no other view than to give intelligence to the English court, of the time when the Spanish fleet was expected from India. They then observed, that this intimacy with the officers, and a great many more of his countrymen on board this fleet, who shewed him the highest civilities, were strong indications of his guilt.

As Lithgow found it impossible to erase these bad

impressions he intreated them to send for a bag containing his letters and other papers; the perusal of which, he declared, would prove his innocence.—The bag being accordingly brought, and the contents of it examined, they were found to consist chiefly of passports, and testimonials from several persons of quality; a circumstance which, instead of lessening their suspicions, served only to heighten them. Presently a subaltern officer came into the room to search him, and took eleven ducats out of his pocket. Stripping him afterwards to his shirt, they found in the waistband of his breeches, the value of 548 ducats, in gold. Lithgow putting on his clothes again, was conducted to a secure place, and from thence removed to an horrid dungeon, where he was allowed neither bed nor bedding; and only an ounce and half of musty bread, and a pint of water daily.

As he would confess nothing, he was put to the torture three days after. The wretches had the inhumanity to make him undergo, in the space of five hours, fifty different sorts of torture; after which he was remanded back to prison, where two eggs were given him, and a little hot wine, sufficient to keep him alive.

On this occasion he received from a Turk, favours which he could not have hoped from persons who stile themselves christians. This Turk administered to him all the consolation possible, and

wept to see the cruelties exercised on Lithgow. He then informed him, that certain English priests belonging to a seminary, together with a Scotch cooper, had been some time employed by the governor's order, in translating into Spanish, all his books, and the observations made by him in his travels. The Turk added, that it was publicly reported, that he was a most notorious heretic. It was then, Lithgow naturally supposed that every engine would be set at work, to ruin him.

Two days after, the governor, with the Inquisitor and two Jesuits, came to Lithgow in prison; when after asking him several questions, and strongly urging him to change his religion, they declared, that, having first seized him as a spy, they had discovered, by the translation of his papers, that he ridiculed the blessed lady of Loretto; and spake very irrevelently of his holiness, Christ's vicegerent upon earth: that informations had been lodged against him before the Inquisitors; that he should be allowed eight days to return to the pale of the church; during which the Inquisitor himself, and other priests, would give him all the instructions necessary, to extricate him from his miserable state.

They visited him again several times, but without success. In fine, the eigth day being come, he was sentenced to undergo eleven different tortures; when, in case he survived them, he was to be cer-

ried to Granada, and burnt there, after easter holidays. The same evening he was put to the torture, and bore it with great resolution, though the utmost cruelty was practised on this occasion. He was then remanded back to his dungeon, where some Turkish slaves brought him, secretly, refreshments, which he was too weak to take. One of these slaves, though educated in the Mahomedan religion from his infancy, was so strongly affected with the deplorable condition to which Lithgow was reduced, that he fell sick for several days. However, a Moorish female slave amply compensated for the kind Turk's absence; she being allowed more liberty in the prison. This female slave brought Lithgow, daily, provisions, with a little wine; and this courtesy continued six weeks.

To conclude, at a time when Lithgow expected, every instant, to die in the most cruel torments, he was released by a very unexpected accident. A Spaniard of distinction being at supper with the governor, the latter informed him of every thing that had happened to Lithgow, since his imprisonment. As he had described, minutely, the various tortures he underwent, a young flemish servant, who used to wait on the Spanish gentlemen at table, moved to compassion at the sad relation of the barbarity exercised on Lithgow, and his being sentenced to the flames; fell into such agonies that he could not sleep the whole night. Getting up the next morn-

ing by day break, he went, unknown to any one, to an English factor; and informed him of the conversation which had passed between the governor and his master. The servant being gone, the Englishman sent for the other six factors, his countrymen, residing in Malaga; when, consulting together, they resolved to write to Madrid, to Sir ——— Aston, the English embassador; who presenting a memorial to the Spanish king and council, Lithgow was released and put on board Sir Robert Mansel's fleet, then laying at anchor before Malaga. The poor victim was so weak, that they were forced to carry him upon blankets. The admiral afterwards demanded Lithgow's books, papers, money, &c. but no other answer was returned him than mere compliments.*

Consalvius gives us an example, which shows that vice is not the object of the Inquisitors' hatred. A poor inhabitant of Seville, who supported his family by his daily labour, had the mortification to have his wife kept forcibly from him by a priest, which was yet winked at by the Inquisition, and every other tribunal. As this man was one day discoursing concerning purgatory, with some of his acquaintance, he spoke in such terms as though he intended only to disburden his mind. As to myself,

*See Lithgow's Travels: and Limbroach's History of the Inquisition.

(says he) I have my purgatory in this world, by my wife's being thus withheld from me by the priest. These words being told to the ecclesiastic, he impeached the husband to the Inquisition, as having advanced some errors relating to the doctrine of purgatory. Hereupon the Inquisitors, without once reproaching the priest for his crime, seized the husband. The latter was then imprisoned two years; and after walking in the procession at the first Auto da Fe, and being sentenced to wear, during three years, the san benito, in a private prison; at the expiration of that term, he was ordered, either to be continued in prison, or to be released, as the Inquisitors should see fit. But they carried their cruelties to such lengths, as to confiscate to the use of their tribunal, the little that this unhappy creature had in the world, and permitted the priest still to enjoy his wife; the holy lecher being passionately fond of her.

The various circumstances given above, all of them compiled from authors of approved veracity, sufficiently show, that the Inquisition is the most iniquitous and most inhuman tribunal on earth.

A MASTER-KEY TO POPERY.

PREFACE.

WHEN I first designed to publish the following sheets, it was a matter of some doubt with me, whether I should put my name to them, considering that I exposed myself to the malice of a great body of men, who would endeavour on all occasions to injure me in my reputation and fortune, if not in my life.—But on the other hand, I foresaw, that if I concealed my name, a great part of the benefit intended to the public by this work, might be lost. For I have often observed, as to books of this kind, where facts only are related, that wherever the authors, out of caution or fear, have concealed themselves, the event commonly has been, that even the friends to the cause which the facts support, give but a cold assent to them, and the enemies reject them entirely as calumnies and forgeries without ever giving themselves the trouble of examining into the truth of that which the relator dares not openly avow. On this account I thought it advisable to give my name with the book. But I am at the same time obliged to say something in vindication of myself, and shall then leave the public to judge of the correctness of my statements.

As soon as it had pleased God by his grace to overcome in me the prejudices of my education in favour of that corrupt church, in which I had been bred up, and to inspire me with a resolution to embrace tho protestant religion, I saw that to preserve my life, I must immediately quit Spain, where all persons who do not publicly profess the Romish religion, are condemned to death.

I accordingly disguised myself in the habit of an officer, and by that means arrived safe in London, when I was taken under the patronage of the Bishop of London, as will appear by the following certificate:

Whereas the Rev. Mr. Anthony Gavin was recommended to me, by the right honourable Lord Stanhope: and by the same and other English gentlemen, I was certified that the said Rev.

Mr. Gavin was a secular priest, and master of arts, in the university of the city of Saragossa, in the kingdom of Arragon, in Spain, and that they knew him in the said city, and conversed with him several times: This is to certify that the said Rev. Mr. Gavin, after having publicly and solemnly abjured the errors of the Romish religion; and being thereupon by me reconciled to the church of England, on the 3d day of January, 1715-16; he had then my leave to officiate, in the Spanish language, in the chapel of Queens-square, Westminster; and now being appointed chaplain of his Majesty's ship, the Preston, has my licence to preach in English, and to administer the sacraments at home and abroad, in all the churches and chapels of my diocess. Given under my hand in London, the 13th of July, 1720.

Signed, JOHN LONDON.

The certificate, licence and warrant, may be seen at any time, for I have them by me.

After that, the ship being put out of commission, and my patron, Lord Stanhope, having died, I got the curacy of Gowran, by the licence of my Lord Bishop of Ossory.

As for the reasons which moved me to publish this book, I shall only say, that as the corrupt practices, which are the subject of it, first set me upon examining into the principles of the church of Rome, and by that means of renouncing them; so I thought that the making them public might happily produce the same effect in some others.

I did design on this occasion to give a particular account of the motives of my conversion, and leaving Spain; but being confined to a fixed number of pages, by the publisher, I must leave that and other things relating to the sacraments of the church of Rome, to the second part, which I intend to print if the public think fit to encourage me.

The reader will excuse my presumption in writing in his own language, on so short an acquaintance as I have with it. I shall be pleased to be told of any mistakes, and shall take the greater care to avoid them in the second part.

ANTHONY GAVIN.

A MASTER-KEY

TO

POPERY.

Of the Roman Catholics' Auricular Confession.

AURICULAR confession being one of the five commandents of the Roman Catholic church, and a condition necessarily required in one of their sacraments; and being too an article that will contribute very much to the discovery of many other errors of that communion, it may be proper to make use of the Master-Key, and begin with it: and first of all, with the father confessors, who are the only key-keepers of it.

Though a priest cannot be licenced, by the canons of their church, to hear men's confessions, till he is thirty years, nor to confess women till forty years of age, yet ordinarily he gets a dispensation from the bishop, to whom his probity, secrecy, and sober conversatson are represented by one of the diocesan examinators, his friend, or by some person of interest with his lordship; and by that means

he gets a confessor's licence, most commonly, the day he gets his letters of orders.

To priests thus licenced, to be judges of the tribunal of conscience, men and women discover their sins, their actions, their thoughts, nay, their very dreams, if they happen to be impure. And by this means it often happens, that a young man who, perhaps, does not know more than a few definitions (which he hath learned in a little manual of some casuistical authors) of what sin is, sits in such a tribunal, to judge, in the most intricate cases, the consciences of men, and of those too that may be his masters.

I saw a reverend father who had been eight and twenty years professor of divinity in one of the most considerable* universities in Spain, and one of the most famous men for his learning, in that religion, kneel down before a young priest of twenty-four years of age, and confess his sins to him. Nay, the pope, notwithstanding all his infallibility, kneels down before his confessor, tells him his sins, hears his correction, and receives and performs whatever penance he imposes upon him.

Who then would not be surprised to see the most holy Jesus Christ's vicar on earth, and the infallible in whatever he says, submit himself to con-

*The university of Saragossa, in the kingdom of Arragon, in Spain, which, according to their historians, was built by Sertorius.

fess his sins to a man, and a man too that has no other power to correct him, to advise and impose a penance upon the most holy one, than what his holiness has been pleased to grant him?

I come now to the *Auricular Confession*, and of the ways and methods they practise and observe in the confessing of their sins. There is among them two ranks of people, learned and unlearned. The learned confess by these three general heads—thought, word and deed—reducing them into all sorts of sins. The unlearned confess the ten commandments, discovering by them all the mortal sins which they have committed since their last confession.—To the dsscovery of the mortal sins the father confessor assists the penitent; for he sometimes out of pure zeal, but most commonly out of curiosity, asks them many questions to know whether they remem ber all their sins, or not? By these questions, the confessors do more mischief than good, especially to the ignorant people, and young women; for perhaps they do not know what simple fornication is? What voluntary or involuntary pollution? Wnat impure desire! What sinful motion of our hearts? What relapse, reincidence, or reiteration of sins? And the like; and then by the confessor's indiscreet questions, the penitents learn things of which they never had dreamed before; ann when they come to that tribunal with a sincere ignorant heart, to receive advice and instruction, they go home with

light, knowledge, and an idea of sins unknown to them before.

Now, as a penitent cannot hide any thing from the spiritual judge, else he would make a sacrilegious confession; so I will not hide any thing from the public who are to be the temporal judges of my work, else I should betray my conscience; therefore, I shall give a faithful, plain account of the Roman's auricular confession, and of the most usual questions and answers between the confessors and penitents.

When the penitent comes into the church, he takes holy water, and sprinkles his face, and making the sign of the cross, says, *per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos Deus noster: In nomine Patris et Filli, et Spiritus Sancti.* Amen. i. e. By the sign of the cross, deliver us our God from our enemies, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Then the penitent goes on, and kneels down before the great altar, where the great host is kept in a net and rich tabernacle, with a brass or silver lamp hanging before it, and burning continually, night and day. There he makes a prayer, first to the holy sacrament of the altar, after to the Virgin Mary, and to the titular saints of the church. Then turns about on his knees, and visits five altars, or if there is but one altar in the church, five times that altar, and says before each of them five times, *Pa-*

ter noster, &c. and five times *Ave Maria*, &c., with *Gloria Patria*, &c.

Then he rises, and goes to the confessing place, where the confessor sits in a chair like our hackney chairs, which is most commonly placed in some of the chapels, and in the darkest place of the church. The chairs, generally speaking, have an iron grate at each side, and on some days of devotion, or on a great festival, there is such a crowd of people that you may see three penitents at once about the chair, one at each grate, and the other at the door, though only one confesses at a time, whispering in the confessor's ear, that the others should not hear what he says, and when one has done, the other begins. But most commonly they confess at the door of the chair one after another; thus the confessor has an opportunity of knowing the penitent. And though many gentlewomen either out of bashfulness, shame, or modesty, do endeavour to hide their faces with a fan, or veil; notwithstanding all this, they are known by the confessor, who if curious, by crafty questions brings them to tell him their names and houses, and this in the very act of confession, or else he examines their faces when the confession is over, whilst the penitents are kissing his hand, or sleeve; and if he cannot know them in this way, he goes himself to give the sacrament, and then every one being obliged to show her face, is known by the curious confessor, who does this, not without

a private view and design, as will appear at the end of some private confessions.

The penitent then kneeling, bows herself to the ground before the confessor, and makes again the sign of the cross in the aforesaid form ; and having in her hand the beads, or rosary of the Virgin Mary, begins the general confession of sins, as follows :

I do confess to God Almighty, to the blessed Mary, always a Virgin, to the blessed Archangel Michael, to the blessed John Baptist, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to all the saints, and to thee O father, that I have too much sinned by thought, word, and deed, by my fault, by my fault, by my greatest fault : Therefore I beseech the blessed Mary, always a Virgin, the blessed Archangel Michael, the blessed John Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, all the saints, and thee, O Father, to pray to God our Lord for me. Amen.

This done, the penitent raises him from his prostration to his knees, and touching with his lip, either the ear or the cheek of the spiritual father, begins to discover his sins by the ten commandments : and here it may be necessary to give a translation of their ten commandments, word for word.

The commandments of the law of God are ten : the three first do pertain to the honour of God ; and the other seven to the benefit of our neighbour. The

I. Thou shalt love God above all things.
II. Thou shalt not swear.
III. Thou shalt sanctify the holy days.
IV. Thou shalt honour father and mother.
V. Thou shalt not kill.
VI. Thou shalt not commit fornication.
VII. Thou shalt not steal.
VIII. Thou shalt not bear false witness, nor lie.
IX. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife.
X. Thou shalt not covet the things which are another's.

These ten commandments are comprised in two: viz. to serve and love God, and thy neighbour as thyself. Amen.

It is likewise proper to give an account of the children's confessions, who have not yet attained the seventh year of their age.—The preacher of the parish pitches upon one day of the week, most commonly, in the middle of Lent, to hear the children's confessions, and gives notice to the congregation the Sunday before, that every father of a family may send his children, both boys and girls, to church, on the day appointed in the afternoon. The mothers dress their children in the best possible manner, and give them the offering money for the expiation of their sins. That afternoon is a holy day in the parish, not by precept, but by custom, for there is no parishoner, either old or young, man or woman, who does not go and hear the children's

confessions. It is reckoned among them, a greater diversion than a comedy, as you may judge by the following account.

The day appointed, the children repair to church at three of the clock, where the preacher is waiting for them with a long reed in his hand, and when all are together, the reverend Father places them in a circle round himself, and then kneeling down makes the sign of the cross, and says a short prayer. This done, he exhorts the children to hide no sin from him, but to tell him all they have committed. Then he strikes, with the reed, the child whom he designs to confess the first, and asks him the following questions.

Confessor. How long is it since you last confessed?

Boy. Father, a whole year, or the last Lent.

Conf. And how many sins have you committed from that time till now?

Boy. Two dozen.

Now the confessor asks round about.

Conf. And you?

Boy. A thousand and ten.

Another will say a bag full of small lies, and ten big sins.

Conf. But pray, you say that you have committed ten big sins, tell me how big?

Boy. As big as a tree.

Conf. But tell me the sins.

Boy. There is one sin I committed, which I dare not tell your reverence before all the people; for some body here present will kill me, if he hears me.

Conf. Well, come out of the circle, and tell it me.

They both go out, with a loud voice, he tells him, that such a day he stole a nest of sparrows from a tree of another boy's, and that if he knew it he would kill him. Then both come again into the circle, and the father asks other boys and girls so many ridiculous questions, and the children answer him so many pleasant, innocent things, that the congregation laughs all the while. One will say that his sins are red, another that one of his sins is white, one black, and one green, and in these trifling questions they spend two hours time.—When the congregation is weary of laughing, the confessor gives the children a correction, and bids them not to sin any more, for a black boy takes along with him the wicked children: then he asks the offering, and after he has got all from them gives them the penance for their sins. To one he says, I give you for penance, to eat a sweet cake, to another not to go to school the day following. To another, to desire his mother to buy him a new hat, and such things as these, and pronouncing the words of absolution, he dismisses the congregation with *Amen*, so be it, every year.

These are the first foundations of the Romish religion for youth.

Now I come to an account of several private confessions of both sexes, beginning from people of fifteen years of age. The confession is a dialogue between the spiritual father and the penitent; therefore I shall deliver the confessions by way of dialogue:

The confession of a yonng woman in Saragossa, whom I shall call Mary.

Confessor. How long is it since you last confessed?

Mary. It is two years and two months.

Conf. Pray, do you know the commandments of our holy mother the church?

Mary. Yea, father.

Conf. Rehearse them.

Mary. The commandments of our holy mother, the church, are five. 1. To hear Mass on Sundays and Holy-days. 2. To confess at least once in a year, and oftener if there be danger of death. 3. To receive the eucharist. 4. To fast. 5. To pay tithes and Primitia.*

Conf. Now rehearse the seven sacraments.

Mary. The sacraments of the holy mother, the church, are seven, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, Pen-

*Primitia is to pay, besides the tenth, one thirtieth part of the fruits of the earth, towards the repair of the church vestments, &c.

ance, the Lord's Supper, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, Matrimony. Amen.

Conf. You see in the second commandment of the church, and in the third, among the sacraments, that you are obliged to confess every year. Why then, have you neglected so much longer a time to fulfil the precept of our holy mother?

Mary. As I am young and a great sinner, I was ashamed, reverend father, to confess my sins to the priest of our parish, for fear he should know me by some passages of my life, which would be prejudicial to me, and to several other persons related to my family.

Conf. But you know that it is the indispensable duty of the minister of the parish, to expose in the church, after Easter, all those who have not confessed, nor received the sacrament before that time.

Mary. I do know it very well; but I went out of the city towards the middle of Lent, and I did not come back again till after Easter; and when I was asked in the country, whether I had confessed that Lent or not? I said, that I had done it in the city:

And when the minister of the parish asked me the same question, I told him, I had done it in the country: So, with this lie, I freed myself from the public censure of the church.

Conf. And did you perform the last penance imposed upon you?

Mary. Yea, father, but not with that exactness I was commanded.

Conf. What was the penance?

Mary. To fast three days upon bread and water, and to give ten reals of plate, and to say five Masses for the souls in purgatory. I did perform the first part, but not the second, because I could not get money for it, unknown to my parents at that time.

Conf. Do you promise me to perform it, as soon as you can?

Mary. I have the money here, which I will leave with you, and you may say, or order another priest to say the Masses.

Conf. Very well: But tell me now, what reason have you to come to confess out of the time appointed by the church? Is it for devotion, to quiet your conscience, and merely to make your peace with God Almighty, or some worldly end?

Mary. Good father, pity my condition, and pray put me in the right way of salvation, for I am ready to despair of God's mercy, if you do not quiet and ease my troubled conscience. Now I will answer to your question: The reason is, because a gentleman, who under promise of marriage, kept me these two last years, and died months ago; and I have resolved in my heart to retire myself into a monastery, and to end there my days, serving God and his holy mother, the Virgin Mary.

Conf. Do not take any resolution precipitately, for, may be, if your passion grows cool, you will alter your mind; and I suspect, with a great deal of

reason, that your repentance is not sincere, and that you come to confess out of sorrow for the gentleman's death, more than out of sorrow for your sins; and if it be so, I advise you to take more time to consider the state of your conscience, and to come to me a fortnight hence.

My father, all the world shall not alter my mind, and the daily remorse of my conscience brings me to your feet, with a full resolution to confess all my sins, to obtain absolution, and to live a new life hereafter.

Conf. If it is so, let us, in the name of God, begin the confession, and I require of you not to forget any circumstance of sin, which may contribute to ease your conscience. And above all, I desire of you to lay aside shame, while you confess your sins; for, suppose that your sins exceed the number of stars, or the number of the sands of the sea, God's mercy is infinite, and accepts of the true penitent heart, for he wills not the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and turn to him.

Mary. I do design to open freely my heart to you, and to follow your advice, as to the spiritual course of my life.

Conf. Begin then by the first commandment.

Mary. I do confess, in this commandment, that I have not loved God above all things; for all my care, these two years past, has been to please Don Francisco, in whatever thing he desired me, and

(to the best of my memory,) I did not think of God, nor of his Mother Mary, for many months together.

Conf. Have you constantly frequented the assemblies of the faithful, and heard Mass on Sundays, and holy days?

Mary. No father: Sometimes I have been four months without going to church.

Conf. You have done a great injury to your soul, and you have given a great scandal to your neighbours.

Mary. As for the first, I own it, for every Sunday and holy day I went out in the morning, and in so populous a city they could not know the church I used to resort to.

Conf. Did it come into your mind all this while, that God would punish you for all your sins?

Mary. Yea, father: but the Virgin Mary is my advocate; I keep her image by my bed-side, and used to address my prayer to her, every night before I went to bed, and I always had a great hope in her.

Conf. If your devotion to the Virgin Mary is so fervent, you must believe that your heart is moved to repentance by her influence and mediation; and I charge you to continue the same devotion while you live, and fear nothing afterwards.

Mary. That is my design.

Conf. Go on.

Mary. The second commandment is, *Thou shalt*

not swear: I never was guilty of swearing, but I have a custom of saying, *Such a thing is so, as sure as there is a God in heaven:* And this I repeated very often every day.

Conf. That is a sinful custom, for we cannot swear, nor affirm any thing by heaven or earth, as the scriptures tell us; and less by Him who has the throne of his habitation in heaven: So you must break off that custom, or else you commit a sin every time you make use of it. Go on.

Mary. The third is, *Thou shalt sanctify the holy* days. I have told you already, my spiritual father, that I have neglected, some time to go to Mass, four months together; and, to the best of my memory, in these two years and two months, I have missed sixty Sundays and holy days going to Mass, and when I did go my mind was so much taken up with other diversions, that I did not mind the requisite devotion, for which I am heartily sorry.

Conf. I hope you will not do so for the future. Go on.

Mary. The fourth is, *Thou shalt honour father and mother.* I have father and mother; as to my father, I do love, honour and fear him; as to my mother, I do confess that I have answered and acted contrary to the duty, respect and reverence due to her, for her suspecting and watching my actions and false steps, and giving me a christian correction, have abused her, nay, sometimes I have lifted up

my hand to threaten her; and these proceedings of mine towards my good mother, torture my heart.

Conf. I am glad to observe your grief, and you may be sure God will forgive you these and other sins upon your repentance, if you persevere in it. Go on.

Mary. The fifth is, *Thou shalt not kill.* I have not transgressed this commandment effectively and immediately, but I have done it affectively and mediately, and at second hand; for a gentlewoman, who was a great hindrance to my designs, once provoked me to such a pitch, that I put in execution all the means of revenge I could think of, and gave ten pistoles to an assassin to take away her life.

Conf. And did he kill her?

Mary. No, father, for she kept her house for three months, and in that time we were reconciled, and now we are very good friends.

Conf. Have you asked her pardon, and told her your design?

Mary. I did not tell in express terms, but I told her that I had an ill will to her, and that at that time I could have killed her, had I got an opportunity for it: for which I heartily begged her pardon; she did forgive me, and so we live ever since like two sisters.

Conf. Go on.

Mary. The sixth, *Thou shalt not commit fornica-*

tion. In the first place I do confess I have unlawfully conversed with the said Don Francisco, my cousin, for two years, and this unlawful commerce has made me fall into many other sins.

Conf. Did he promise solemnly to marry you?

Mary. He did, but could not perform it, while his father was alive.

Conf. Tell me, from the beginning, to the day of his death, and to the best of your memory, your sinful thoughts, words, actions, nay, your very dreams, about this matter.

[Here follows, in detail, a disclosure of a catalogue of crimes too obscene, too corrupt, and too black, to be recorded, after which the young woman closes by saying, I have nothing more to confess but in general, the sins of my whole life, and for all of which I am heartily sorry. The confessor then absolves her.]

The second. A private confession of a woman to a friar of the dominican order, laid down in writing before the moral academy.

Leonore did confess to F. Joseph Riva the following misdoings.

Leonore. My reverend father, I come to this place to make a general confession of all the sins I have committed in the whole course of my life, or of all those I can remember.

Conf. Begin then your confession.

Leon. I have neglected my duty towards God. I have many times sworn. I have not sanctified his holy days, nor honoured my parents and superiors. I have many times desired the death of my neighbours, when in a passion. I have been deeply engaged in amorous intrigues with many people of all ranks, but these two years past most constantly with Don Pedro Hasta.

As for the sins of my youth, till I was sixteen years of age, they are of no great consequence.—When I fell into the first sin it was in the following manner.

The confessor of our family was a Franciscan friar. It was about that time of my life I lost my mother; and a month after her my father died, leaving all his substance to the father confessor, to dispose of at his own fancy, reserving only a certain part which I was to have, to settle me in the world conditionally that if I was obedient to him. A month after my father's death, on pretence of taking care of every thing that was in the house, he ordered a bed for himself in the chamber next to mine, where my maid also used to lie. After supper, the first night he came home, he addressed himself thus to me. My daughter, you may with reason call me your father, for you are the only child your father left under my care. Your patrimony is in my hands, and you ought to obey me blindly in every thing: So in the first place order

your maid's bed to be removed out of your own chamber into another. Which being done accordingly, we parted and went each one to our own room; but scarcely had an hour passed away, when the father came into my chamber, and what by flattery and promises, and what by threatnings, he deprived me of my best patrimony, my innocence. We continued this course of life till, as I believe, he was tired of me; for, two months after, he took every thing out of the house, and went to his convent, where he died in ten days time: and by his death I lost the patrimony left me by my father, and with it all my support, and as my parents had spared nothing in my education, and as I had always been kept in the greatest affluence, you may judge how I was affected by the miserable circumstances I was then left in. My condition being known to an officer of the army, he came to offer me his services. I complied with his desire, and for two years we lived together, till at last he was obliged to repair to his regiment at Catalonia, where he soon after died. Then, resolving to alter my life, I went to confess, and after having given an account to my confessor of my life, he promised to come next day to see me, and I waited at home for him.

The father came, and after various discourses, he took me by the hand into my chamber, and told me that if I was willing to put in his hands my jewels, and what other things of value I had got from the

officer, he would engage to get a gentleman suitable to my condition to marry me. I did every thing as he desired me, and so taking along with him all I had he carried them to his cell.

The next day he came and told me I must comply with his desire, or else he would expose me, and inform against me before the holy tribunal of the inquisition: rather than incur that danger, I did for the space of six months, and, having nothing to live upon (for he kept my jewels) I was obliged to abandon myself to many other gentlemen, by whom I was maintained.

At last he left me, and I still continued my wicked life, unlawfully conversing with married and unmarried gentlemen a whole year, and not daring to confess, for fear of experiencing the same treatment from another confessor.

I stole from the church a chalice, by the advice of the said confessor, and he made use himself of the money I got for the silver, which I cut in pieces; and I did converse unlawfully several times in church with him.

Conf. Give me leave to consult upon all these things, and I will resolve them to you the next confession; now go in peace.

The confession being laid before the academy, it was resolved that the proponent could safely in conscience absolve Leonore the next confession, if she had the bull of indulgencies; and promised to

be zealous in the correction and penance, which he was to give her, &c. Accordingly Leonore was absolved.

The third private confession proposed in the academy, by father Gasca, Jesuit, and member of the academy: of a woman of thirty-three years of age.

Most reverend and learned fathers, I have thought fit not to trouble you with the methodical way of private confession I heard last Sunday, but to give you only an account of the difficult case in it. The case is this: a woman of thirty-three years of age came to confess, and told me, that from sixteen years of age, till twenty-four, she had committed all sorts of lewdness, only with ecclesiastical persons, having in every convent a friar, who, under the name of cousin, used to visit her: and notwithstanding the multiplicity of cousins, she lived so poorly, that she was forced to turn procuress at the same time for new cousins, and that she had followed that wicked life till thirty-two years of age: that last year she dreamed that the devil was very free with her, and these dreams continuing for a long time, she found herself with child; and she protests that she knew no man for fourteen months before; she is delivered of a boy, and she says that he is the devil's son, and that her conscience is so troubled about it, that if I do not find some way to quiet her mind, she will lay violent hands upon herself.

I asked her leave to consult the case, with a promise to resolve in next Sunday. Now I ask your advice upon this case.

A member said, that there was in the case something more than apparition and devilish liberty, and that he thought fit that the father Jesuit should inquire more carefully into the matter, and go himself to examine the house, and question the people of it. Which being approved by the whole assembly, he did it the next morning, and in the afternoon, being an extraordinary meeting, he came and said,

That the woman was so strongly possessed with such a vision, that she has made public the case among the neighbours, and it is spread abroad; upon which the Inquisitors sent for the woman and the maid, and this has discovered the whole story, viz. that father Conchillos, victorian friar, was in love with a woman, but she could not endure the sight of him; That he gained the maid, and by that means he got into the house every night, and the maid putting some opium into her mistress's supper she fell fast asleep, and the said father did lie with her six nights together; so the child is not the son of the devil, but of father Conchillos.

The friar was put into the inquisition, for having persuaded the maid to tell her mistress that it was the devil. What became of the friar I do not know, this I do aver, that I spoke with the woman myself, and with the maid; and that children used to go to

her door, and call for the son of the devil ; and being so mocked, she left the city a few days after, and we were told that she lived after it a retired christian life in the country.

The fourth private confession of a priest, being at the point of death, in 1710. *I shall call him Don Paulo.*

I have served my parish sixteen years, and all my care has been to discover the tempers and inclinations of my parishoners, and I have been as happy in this world as unhappy before my Saviour. I have in ready money fifteen thousand pistoles, and I have given away more than six thousand. I had no patrimony, and my living is worth but four hundred pistoles a year. There are in my parish sixteen hundred families, and more or less I have defrauded them all.

My thoughts have been impure ever since I began to hear confessions ; my words grave and severe with them all, and all my parishoners have respected and feared me. I have had so great an empire over them, that some of them, knowing of my misdoings, have taken my defence in public. They have had in me a solicitor in all emergencies, and I have omitted nothing to please them in outward appearance ; but my actions have been the most criminal of mankind ; for as to my ecclesiastical duty, what I have done has been for custom's sake.

I have procured, by remedies, sixty abortions, making the fathers of the children their murderers; besides many other intended, though not executed, by some unexpected accident.

As to the sixth commandment, I cannot confess by particulars, but by general heads, my sins. I confess, in the first place, that I have frequented the parish club twelve years. We were only six parish priests in it; and there we did consult and contrive all the ways to satisfy our passions.—Each one had a list of the handsomest women in his parish; and when one had a fancy to see any woman, remarkable for her beauty, in another's parish, the priest of her parish sent for her to his own house; and having prepared the way for wickedness, the other had nothing to do but to meet her there, and fulfil his desires; and so we have served one another these twelve years past. Our method has been to persuade the husbands and fathers not to hinder them any spiritual comfort; and to the ladies to persuade them to be subject to our advice and will; and that in so doing, they should have liberty at any time to go out on pretence of communicating some spiritual business to the priest.

I have spared no woman of my parish, whom I had a fancy for, and many other of my brethren's parishes; but I cannot tell the number. I have sixty *nepotes* alive, of several women: But my principal care ought to be of those that I have by

the two young women I keep at home since their parents died. Both are sisters, and I have by the eldest two boys, and by the youngest one; and one which I had by own sister is dead. Therefore I leave to my sister five thousand pistoles; upon condition that she would enter nun in St. Bernard's monastery; and upon the same condition I leave two thousand pistoles a piece to the two young women; and the remainder I leave to my three *nepotes* under the care of Mossen John Peralta. Now I ask your penance and absolution for all the sins reserved in all the bulls, from the first Pope; for which purpose I have taken the bull of privileges in such cases as mine—so I did absolve him, and assist him afterwards, and he died the next day.

Hear, O heaven! Give ear, O earth! And be horribly astonished! to see that those who are to guide the people, and put the flock in the way of salvation, are wolves in sheep's clothing that devour them, and put them into the way of damnation.—O God, open the eyes of the ignorant people, that they may see the injuries done to their souls by their own guides.

There are some confessors however who, according to the principles of their religion, discharge their duty with exactness and purity, and whose lives, in their own way are unblamable, and without reproach among men.

They live poorly, because whatever they have,

the poor are enjoyers of it. The time they give to the public is but very little, and not every day; and then whatever counsels they give are right, sincere, without flattery or interest. All pious, religious person solicit their acquaintance and conversation, but they avoid all pomp and vanity. Sometimes you may find them in the hospitals among the poor, sick, helping and exhorting them: but they go there most commonly in the night, for what they do, they do not out of pride, but humility.

Before I begin with the fifth confession, it will not be improper to give an account of the customs of the nuns, and places of their confessions.

By the constitutions of their order, so many days are appointed, in which all the nuns are obliged to confess, from the mother abbess to the very wheeler, i. e. the nun that turns the wheel near the door, through which they give and receive every thing they want. They have a father confessor, and a father companion, who live next to the convent, and have a small grate in the wall of their chamber, which answers to the upper cloister or gallery of the convent. The confessor has care of the souls of the convent, and he is obliged to say mass every day, hear confessions, administer the sacraments, and visit the sick nuns. There are several narrow closets in the church, with a small iron grate: One

side answers to the cloister, and the other to the church. So the nun being on the inside, and the confessor on the outside, they hear one another. There is a large grate facing the great altar, and the holes of it are a quarter of a yard square, but that grate is double, and the distance between both more than half a yard ; besides these, there is a grate for relations and benefactors of the community, which grate is single and consists of very thin iron bars: The holes of such a grate are near a quarter and a half square.

The nuns father confessor, has but little trouble with the young nuns, for they generally send for a confessor who is a stranger to them, so that all his trouble is with the old ones, who keep the poor man more than two hours at the grate, relating things of no consequence.

Many gentlemen send their daughters to the nunnery when they are some five, some six, some eight years old, under the care of some nun of their acquaintance, and there they are educated till they are fifteen years old. The tutress takes great care not to let them go to the grate, nor converse with men all the while, to prevent in them the knowledge and love of the world. They are caressed by all the nuns, and thinking it will be always so, are very well pleased with their confinement. They have only liberty to go to the grate to their parents or relations, and are always accompanied by the old mo-

ther tutress, and when they are fifteen, which is the age fixed by the constitutions of all the orders, they receive the habit of a nun, and begin the year of noviciate, which is the year of trial to see whether they can go through all the hardships, fastings, disciplines, prayers, hours of divine service, obedience, poverty, chastity, and penances practised in the monastery : But the prioress or abbess, and the rest of the professed nuns, dispense with, and excuse the novices from all the severities, for fear that the novices should be dissatisfied with, and leave the convent. Thus the novices, flattered in the year of noviciate, and thinking they will be so all their life time, when the year is expired, make profession and swear to observe *chastity obedience*, and *poverty*, during their lives, and *clausura*, i. e. *confinement :* obliging themselves, by it, never to go out of the monastery.

After the profession is made, they begin to feel the severity and hardships of the monastical life; for one is made a door-keeper, another turner of the wheel, to receive and deliver by it all the nun's messages, another bell nun, that is to call the nuns when any one comes to visit them ; another baker, another book-keeper of all the rents and expenses, and the like ; and in the performance of all these employments, they must expend much of their own money. After this they have liberty to go to the grate, and talk with gentlemen, priests and friars,

who only go there as a gallant goes to see his mistress. So when the young nuns begin to have a notion of the pleasures of the world, and how they have been deceived, they are heartily sorry, but too late for there is no remedy. And minding nothing but to satisfy their passions as well as they can, they abandon themselves to all sorts ot wickedness, and amorous intrigues.

There is another sort of nuns, whom the people call *las forcadas*, the forced nuns, i. e. those who have made a false step in the world, and cannot find husbands, on account of their crimes being public, Those are despised and ill used by their parents and relations, till they choose to go to the nunnery: So by this it is easily known what sort of nuns they will make.

I now come to the private confession; and I could wish to find language to express it myself, with purity and modesty.

Nun. I am the only daughter of councillor N. E. I was not quite thirteen years of age, when a gentleman of quality, though not very rich, began his love to me, by letters which he (gaining my writing-master) sent to me by him. There was nothing in the world so obliging, civil, modest and endearing, as his expressions seemed to me, and at last having the opportunity of meeting him at the house of one

of my aunts, his person and conversation so charmed my heart, that a few days after we passed reciprocal promises of an eternal union: But by a letter which unfortunately was misscarried, and fell into my father's hands, our honest designs were discovered; and without telling me any thing, he went to see the gentleman, and spoke to him in this manner: Sir, my daughter, in discharge of her duty to so good a father, has communicated to me your honourable design, and I come to thank you for the honour you are pleased to do my family: But, being so young, we think proper to put off the performance of it, till she is fifteen years of age; and to show you my great affection, I offer you a captain's commission in the regiment that the city is to raise for the king, and advise you to serve two years, and afterwards you may accomplish your desire. The gentleman accepted it, and the next day the commission was signed and delivered to him, with an order to go to Catalonia. At the same time the writing master was sent out of the town under pretence of receiving some money for my father; and I was kept close at home, so he could not get an opportunity of seeing or writing to me; for my father told him I was sick in bed. As soon as he left the town, my father told me that he was dead, and that I must retire myself into the nunnery. He spared nothing to please me, until received the habit, and made the profession and

vows of a monastical life: after which he told me the whole story himself; and the gentleman was killed in Catalonia the first campaign.

Ever since, I have not cared what should become of me, and have abandoned myself to all the sins I have been capable of committing. Myself and ten others have our devotos, and there is nothing that we do not invent for the accomplishment of our pleasures.

One of them has a friar her devoto, a beautiful young man, and we contrived and agreed together to bring him into the convent, as we did, and have kept him twenty two days in our chamber. This is the greatest sin I have committed with man.

Conf. Pray, tell me, how could you let him in without scandal?

Nun. One of the assembly contrived to mat all the floor of her chamber, and sent for the mat-maker to take the measure of the length and breadth of the room, and to make it one piece, and send it to the Sexton's chamber, who is a poor ignorant fellow. When the mat was there, and the man paid for it, one day in the evening, we sent the Sexton on several messages, and kept the key of his room. The friar had asked leave of his prior to go into the country for a month's time, and disguising himself in a layman's habit, feeing well two porters, came, in the dusk of the evening, into the Sexton's room, and rolling up himself in the mat,

the porters brought the mat to the door, where we were waiting for it; and taking it, we carried it up to one of our chambers. We were afraid that the porters would discover the thing, but by money we have secured ourselves from them; for we hired ruffians to make way with them. We put him out of the convent in a great chest which could be opened on the inside, and of which he had the key, and giving the chest to the Sexton, he, and the servant of the convent, carried it into the Sexton's room. We ordered him to leave the key at the door, for we expected some relations, which were to take a collation there; and we sent him on some errand till the friar had got out of the chest and of danger.

A month after, three of our friends began to perceive the condition they were in, and left the convent in one night, and we do not know what has become of them; as for me, I design to do the same, for I am under the same apprehension and fear.

I am sure, in my conscience, that I am not a nun of intention. I did promise to keep *obedience*, *chastity*, *poverty*, and *perpetuity*, but I shall not incur the crime of apostacy, in leaving the convent; and if I continue in it, I am fully resolved to prevent my ruin and death, by a strong operating remedy.

It was resolved, that the confessor, first of all, was to absolve the penitent, having a bull of crusade,

and extra confessionem, or out of confession give, as a private person, advice to the penitent to quit the convent, and take a certificate. Wherein the penitent was to specify, that the confessor had given such advice *extra actum confessionis*. Accordingly Monday following, I went to the nun and performed what was resolved ; and that very same week, we heard in the city that such a nun had made her escape out of the convent.

In the year 1706, F. Antonio Gallardo, Augustin friar, murdered Dona Issabella Mendez, and a child three weeks old sucking at her breast. The lady was but twenty-four years of age, and had been married eight years to Don Francisco Mendez. The friar had been her spiritual guide all that while, and all the family had so great a respect and esteem for him, that he was the absolute master of the house. The lady was brought to bed, and Don Francisco being obliged to go into the country for four days, desired the father to come and lie in his house, and take care of it in his absence. The father's room was always ready : so he went there the same day Don Francisco went into the country. At eight at night, both the father and the lady went to supper, and after he sent all the maids and servants into the hall to sup, the lady took the child to give him suck, and the friar told her, in plain and short reasons, his love, and that without any reply or delay, she must comply with his request. The lady said to him, fa-

ther, if you propose such a thing to try my faithfulness and virtue, you have known my conscience these eight years past ; and if you have any ill design; I will call my family to prevent your further assurance. The friar then in a fury, taking a knife, killed the child, and wounded so deeply the mother, that she died two hours after. The friar made his escape ; but whether he went to his convent or not, we did not hear. I myself saw the lady dead, and went to her burial in the church of the old St. John.

In the city of Saragossa, near the college of St. Thomas of Villaneuva, lived Mary Guerrero, married to a taylor ; she was handsome and ambitious ; but as the rank of a taylor's wife could not make her shine among the quality, she undertook the life of a *Beata*, (or blessed woman) to be known by it in the city. The first step she was to make was to choose a confessor of good parts, and of a good reputation among the nobility ; so she pitched upon the reverend Father Fr. Michael Navarro, a Dominican friar, who was a D. D. and a man universally well beloved for his doctrine and good behaviour. She began to confess to him, and in less than a year, by her feigned modesty, and hypocritical airs ; and by confessing no sins, but the religious exercises of her life ; the reverend father began to publish in the city her sanctity to the highest pitch. Many ladies and gentlemen of the first rank, desirous to see the new saint, sent for her, but she

did not appear, but by her maid gave a denial to all. This was a new addition to the fame of her sanctity, and a new incitement to the ladies to see her. So some, going to visit father Navarro, desired the favor of him to go with them to the blessed Guerrero; but the father answered that he could do no such a thing, for, knowing her virtue, modesty, and aversion to any act of vanity, he should be very much in the wrong to give her opportunities of cooling her fervent zeal and purity.

The father charged her husband to quit the house, and never appear before his wife; for his sight would be a great hindrance to his wife's sanctity and purity; and the poor sot, believing every thing, went away and took a lodging for himself and apprentice.

They continued this way of living, both she and the Father, a whole year; but the fatigue of going every day to say mass and confess the *blessed*, being too great for the reverend, he asked leave from the reverend father Buenacasa, then prior of the convent, to go and live with her as a spiritual guide. —The prior, foreseeing some great advantage, gave him leave, and so he went to be her lodger and master of the house. When the father was in the house, he began by degrees to give permission to the people now and then to see the *blessed*, through the glass of a little window, desiring them not to make a noise, for fear of disturbing the *blessed* in

her exercise of devotion. She was in her own room always upon her knees, when some people were to see her through the glass, which was in the wall between her room, and that of the reverend. In a few months after, the archbishop went to see her, and conversed with her, and the father Navarro, who was in great friendship with, and much honoured by his grace. This example of the prelate put the nobility in mind to do the same. The viceroy not being permitted by his royal representation to go to her, sent his coach one night for her, and both the father and the *blessed* had the honour to sup in private with his Excellency. This being spread abroad, she was troubled every day with coaches, and presents from all sorts and conditions of people. Many sick went there in hopes to be healed by her sight. Thus they continued for the space of two years, and all this while the reverend was writing the life of the *blessed ;* and many times he was pressed to print part of her life ; but the time of the discovery of their wickedness being come, they were taken by an order from the holy inquisition.

The discovery happened thus. Ann Moron, a surgeon's wife, who lived next door to the *blessed*, had a child of ten months old, and, as a neighbour, she went to desire the reverend to beg of the *blessed* to take the child and kiss him, thinking, that by such an holy kiss, her child would be happy forev-

er. But the reverend desiring her to go herself and make the request to the *blessed*, she did it accordingly. Mary Guerrero took the child and bid the mother leave him with her for a quarter of an hour. Ann Moron then thought that her child was already in heaven; but when in a quarter of an hour after, she came again for the child, the *blessed* informed her, that her child was to die the night following, for so God had revealed to her in a short prayer she made for the child. The child really died the night following, but the surgeon, as a tender father, seeing some spots and marks in his child's body, opened it, and found in it the cause of its unfortunate death, which was a dose of poison. Upon this suspicion of the child's being poisoned, and the foretelling his death by the *blessed*, the father went to the inquisitors, and told the nature of the thing. The inquisitor went to examine the thing, and seeing the child dead, and the circumstances against the *blessed* he ordered that she and the reverend, and all the domestic servants, should be secured immediately, and sent to the holy inquisition. All things were done accordingly, and this sudden and unexpected accident made such a noise in town, that every one reasoned in his own way, but nobody dared to speak of the inquisitor. At the same time every thing in the house was seized upon, with the papers of the reverend, &c. After the examination was made, the inquisitors sum-

moned two priests out of every parish church, and two friars out of every convent, to come such a day to the hall of the holy tribunal to be present at their trial and examinations. It was my turn to go to that trial for the cathedral church of St. Salvator. We went the day appointed, all the summoned priests and friars, to the number of a hundred and fifty, besides these inquisitors, officers of the inquisition, and qualificators. The signal being made to bring the prisoners to the bar, they came out of the prison, and kneeling down before the holy fathers, the secretary began to read the articles of the examinations and convictions of their crimes.

Indeed both the father and the blessed appeared that day very much like saints, if we will believe the Roman's proverb, that paleness and thin visage is a sign of sanctity. I heard the following articles.

That by the *blessed's* confession to Michael Navarro, this in the beginning of her life says : 1st. That blessed creature knew no sin since she was born into the world. 2d. She has been several times visited by the angels in her closet ; and Jesus Christ himself has come down thrice to give her new heavenly instructions. 3d. She was advised by the divine spouse to live separately from her husband. 4th. She was once favoured with a visit of the holy trinity, and then she saw Jesus at the left hand of the father. 5th. The holy dove came afterwards and sat upon her head many times. 6th.

This holy comforter has foretold her, that her body after her death shall be always incorruptible, and that a great king, with the news of her death, shall come to honour her sepulchre with this motto. The soul of this warrior is the glory of my kingdom. 7th. Jesus Christ in a Dominican's habit appeared to her at night, and in a celestial dream she was overshadowed by the spirit. 8th. She had taken out of purgatory seven times the soul of his companion's sister. 9th. The pope and the whole church shall rejoice in her death; nay, his holiness shall canonize her, and put her in the Litany before the apostles, &c. After these things her private miracles were read, and so many passages of her life that it would be too tedious to give an account of them. I only write these, to shew the stupidity of the reverend Naverro, who, if he had been in his perfect senses, could not have committed so gross an error. The truth is, the *blessed* was not overshadowed by the spirit, but by her confessor; she being at that time with child, and delivered in the inquisition.

Their sentences were not read in public, and what was their end we know not; only we heard, that the husband of the *blessed* had notice given to him by an officer of the holy office, that he was at liberty to marry again.

There is another sort of beatas, whom we call demoniacks. They make their husbands believe

that a witch has given them the evil spirit, and they make such unusual gestures, both with their faces and mouths, that it is enough to make the world laugh only at the sight of them. The poor deceived husbands, send for a physician; but he has no remedy for such a distemper, and says that physic knows no manner of devil. He then sends the husband to the spiritual physician; and by that means they are out of a good design, procures for their own wives. Then the father makes him understand that the thing is very troublesome, and that if the devil is obstinate and positive, he cannot leave his wife in three or four nights; and may be in a month or two; by which we must neglect other business of honour and profit. To this the deluded husband promises that his trouble shall be well recompensed, and puts a piece of gold into his hand to make him easy; so he pays before hand for his future dishonour. Sometimes the devil is very timorous and leaves the creature immediately easy: sometimes he is obstinate, and will rest a long while before he obeys the exorcisms of the church; but at last he retires himself into his own habitation, and frees the creature from his torments. A while after, the wife, on pretence that the evil spirit begins again to trouble her, goes into her chamber and desireth the father to hear her confession. These private confessions and exercises of devotion continue for several months together, and the husband.

loth to go to bed with his wife, for fear of the evil spirit, goes to another chamber, and the father lies in the same room with his wife on a field-bed, to be always ready, when the malignant spirit comes, to exorcise, and beat him with the holy *Stola*. So deeply ignorant are the people in that part of the world, or so great bigots, that on pretence of religious remedies to cure their wives of the devilish distemper, they contract a worse distemper of their heads and honours, which no physician, either spiritual or corporal, can ever cure.

The pope and councils are the original causes of the aforesaid misdoings and ill practices of the Romish priests; marriage being forbidden to a priest, not by any commandment of God or divine scripture, but by a strict ordinancce from the pope, an indisputable canon of the council. This was not practised by them for many centuries after the death of our Saviour; and the priests were then more religious and exemplary than they are now. I know the reasons their church have for it, which I will not contradict, to avoid all sort of controversy: but this I may say, that if the priests, friars and nuns were at lawful liberty to marry, they would be better christians, the people richer in honour and estate, the kingdom better peopled, the king stronger, and the Romish religion more free from foreign attempts and calumnies.

They make a vow of chastity, and they break

it by living loose, lewd, and irregular lives. They vow poverty, and their thirst for riches is unquenchable, and whatever they get is most commonly by unlawful means. They swear obedience, and they only obey their lusts, passions and inclination.—How many sins are occasioned by binding themselves with these three vows in a monastical life? It is inexpressible, and all, or the greater number of sins committed by them, would be hindered, if the pope and council were to imitate the right foundations of the primitive church, and the apostles of Jesus Christ our Saviour.

As to particular persons, among the priests and friars, touching their corruptions and ill practces in auricular confession, they act against divine and human law, and are guilty of many sins, esdecially sacrilege and robery. It is true the moral Sums are defective in the instruction of confessors, as opinions, grounded in the erroneous principles of their church. But as to the settled rules for the guiding and advising the penitent to walk uprightly, they are not defective: the confessors cannot therefore plead ignorance for so doing, and consequently the means they make use of in the tribunal of conscience, are all sinful, being only to deceive and cheat the poor, ignorant people.

Again: Though most commonly, *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum & in cœlis*, (whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in hea-

ven) is understood by them literally, and the Pope usurps the power of absolving men without contrition, provided they have attrition, or only confession by mouth. Nevertheless the causists when they come to treat of a perfect confession under the sacrament of penance, unanimously say, that three things are absolutely necessary to a perfect confession, and to salvation too, viz. *Oris confessio, cordis contritio*, and *operis satisfactio*. Though at the same time they say, except in case of pontifical dispensation with faculties, privileges, indulgencies, and pardon of all sins committed by a man. But though they except this case, I am sure they do it out of obedience and flattery, rather than their own belief. If they then believe, that without contrition of heart, the absolution is of no effect, why do they persuade the contrary to the penitent? Why do they take money for absolution? It is, then a cheat, robbery and sacrilege.

If a nobleman of a good estate be very ill, the confessor must be by him night and day, and when he goes to sleep his companion supplies his place to direct, and exhort the sick to die as a good christian, and to advise him how to make his last will and testament. If the confessor is a downright honest man, he must betray his principles of honesty or disoblige his superior, by getting nothing from the sick; so he charges upon the poor man's conscience to leave his convent thousands of masses,

for the speedy delivery of his soul out of purgatory; and in these and other legacies, and charities, three parts of his estate goes to the church or convents.

From these we may infer thefts, murders, debaucheries, and *division of families*. The confessors are the original cause of all these ill consequences; for when they take the best of estates for themselves, no wonder if private persons and whole families are left in such want, and necessity, that they abandon themselves to all sorts of sins, and hazards of losing both lives and honors, rather than to abate something of their pride.

The reverend Navasques, a Jesuit, was the confessor of the countess of Fuentes, who was left a widow at twenty-four years of age, and never married again, for the reverend's care is to advise them to live a single life. (Purity being the first step to heaven.) The lady countess had no children, and had an estate of her own, of 4000 pistoles a year, besides her jewels and household goods, which, after her death were valued at 15000 pistoles. All these things and her personal estate, were left to the Jesuits college, though she had many near relations, among whom I knew two young gentlemen, second cousins of her ladyship, and two young ladies kept in her house as her cousins too. She had promised to give them a settlement, suitable to their quality and merits, which promise the father confessor confirmed to them several times. But the

lady died, and both the young ladies and the two gentlemen were left under the providence of God, for the countess had forgotten them in her last will; and the father confessor took no notice of them afterwards. The two young ladies abandoned themselves to all manner of private pleasures at first, and at last to public wickedness. As to the young gentlemen, a few months after the lady's death, one left the city and went to serve the king, as a cadet; the other, following a licentious life, was ready to finish his days with shame and dishonour on a public scaffold, had not the goodness and compassion of the Marquis of Camarassa, then viceroy of Arragon, prevented it. Now, whether the father confessor shall be answerable before God, for all the sins committed by the young ladies and one of the gentlemen, for want of what they expected from the countess or not, God only knows.—We may think and believe, that if the lady had provided for them according to their condition in the world, in all human probability, they had not committed such sins. Or, if the college, or the reverend father had been more charitable, and compassionate to the condition they were in, they had put a timely stop to their wickedness.

If a gentleman have two or three sons, and as many daughters, the confessor of the family advises the father to keep the eldest son at home, and send the rest, both sons and daughters, into a convent or

monastery; praising the monastical life, and saying that to be retired from the world, is the safest way to heaven. There is a proverb which runs thus in English: "It is better to be alone, than in bad company." And the confessor alters it thus: "It is better to be alone, than in good company." Which they pretend to prove with so many sophistical arguments, nay, with a passage from the scripture; and this not only in private conversation, but publicly in the pulpit. I remember I heard my celebrated Mr. F. James Garcia preach a sermon upon the subject of a *retired life*, and *solitude*, which sermon, and others preached by him in Lent, in the cathedral church of St. Salvator, were printed afterwards. The book is in folio, and its title Quadragesima de gracia.—He was the first preacher I heard make use of the above proverb, and alter it in the aforesaid way; and to prove the sense of his alteration, he said: "Remember the woman in the apocalypsis that ran from heaven into the desert. What! was not that woman in heaven, in the company of the stars and planets, by which are represented all the heavenly spirits? Why then quits she that good company, and chooses to be alone in a desert place? Because (says he) that woman is the holy soul, and for a soul that desireth to be holy, it is better to be alone than in good company. In the desert, in the convent, in the monastery, the soul is

safe, free from sundry temptations of the world; and it therefore belongs to a christian soul, not only to run from bad company, but to quit the best company in the world and retire into the desert of a convent, or monastery, if that soul desires to be holy and pure." This was his proof; and if he had not been my master, I would have been bold to make some reflections upon it: but the respect of a disciple, beloved by him, is enough to make me silent, and leave to the reader the satisfaction of reflecting in his own way, to which I heartily submit.

The Marquis of Arino had one only daughter, and his second brother was an Augustin friar, under whose care the marquis left his daughter when he died. She was fifteen years of age, rich and handsome. Her uncle and executor was at that time Dr. and professor of divinity in the university, and prior of the convent, and could not personally take care of his neice and her family; he therefore desired one of her aunts to go and live with her, and sent another friar to be like a steward and overseer of the house. The uncle was a good honest man and religious. He minded more his office of a prior, his study and exercises of devotion, than the riches, pomp, magnificence, and vanity of the world. Seeing that the discharge of his duty and that of an executor of his niece were inconsistent together, he resolved to marry her, which he did to the Baron Suelves, a young, handsome, healthy, rich gentle-

man ; but he died seven months after his marriage, and the good uncle was again at the same trouble and care of his niece, who was left a widow, but not with child. After the year of her mourning was expired, she was married to the great president of the council, who was afterwards great chancellor of the kingdom, but he died, leaving no children. The first and second husband left all their estates to her ; and she was reckoned to have eighty thousand pistoles in yearly rent and goods. A year after, Don Pedro Carillo, brigadier-general, and general governor of the kingdom married her, but has no children by her. I left both the governor and lady alive, when I quit the country. Now I come to the point. It was specified in all the matches between the gentlemen and the lady, that if they had no issue by her, all her estate and goods should fall to the uncle as a second brother of her father ; and so *ex necessitate* the convent should be forever the only enjoyer of it. It was found out, but too late, that the friar steward, before she first married, had given her a dose to make her a barren woman ; and though no body believed that the uncle had any hand in it, yet every body suspected the friar steward, and it was confirmed at last by his own confession ; for being at the point of death, he owned the fact publicly and his design in it.

Another instance. A lady of the first rank, of 18 years of age, the only heiress of a considerable

estate, was kept by her parents at a distance from all sorts of company, except only that of the confessor of the family, who was a learned and devout man; but as these reverends have always a father companion to assist them at home and abroad, many times the mischief is contrived and effected unknown to the confessor, by his wicked companion; so it happened in this instance. The fame of the wonderful beauty of this young lady was spread so far abroad, that the King and Queen being in the city for eight months together, and not seeing the celebrated beauty at their court, her majesty asked her father one day, whether he had any children? And when he answered, that he had only one daughter, he was desired by the Queen to bring her along with him to court, the next day, for she had a great desire to see her beauty so admired at home and abroad. The father could not refuse it, and the next day the lady appeared at court, and was so much admired that a grandee (who had then the command of the army, though not of his own passions) said, this is the first time I have seen the sun among the stars. The grandee began to covet that inestimable jewel, and his heart burning in the agreeable flame of her eyes, he went to see her father, but could not see the daughter. At last he sent for the confessor's companion, whose interest and mediation he got by money and fair promises of raising him to an ecclesiastical dignity. By that

means he sent a letter to the lady, who read it, and in very few days he had her consent to disguise himself and come to see her along the father companion. One evening in the dark, putting on a friar's habit, he went to her chamber, where he was always in company with the companion friar, who by crafty persuasions made the lady understand, that if she did not consent to every thing that the grandee should desire, her life and reputation were lost. In the same disguise they saw one another several times to the grandee's satisfaction and her grief and vexation.

But the court being gone, the young lady began to suspect some public proof of her intrigue, till then secret, and consulting the father companion upon it, he did what he could to prevent it, but in vain. The misfortune was suspected, and owned by her to her parents. The father died of grief in eight days time, and the mother went into the country with her daughter, till she was free from her disease, and afterwards both ladies, mother and daughter, retired into a monastery, where I knew and conversed several times with them. The gentleman had made his will long before, by the which convent was to get the estate in case the lady should die without children; and as she had taken the habit of a nun, and professed the vows of religion, the prior was so ambitious, that he asked the estate, alledging that she, being a professed nun, could not

have children; to which the lady replied, that she was obliged to obey her father's will, by which she was mistress of the estate during her life; adding that it was better for the father prior not to insist on his demand, for she was ruined in her reputation by the wickedness of one of his friars, and that she, if prest, would shew her own child, who was the only heir of her father's estate. But the prior, deaf to her threatnings, did carry on his pretension, and by an agreement (not to make the thing more public than it was, for very few knew the true story) the prior got the estate, obliging the convent to give the lady and her mother, during their lives, 400 pistoles every year, the whole estate being 5000 yearly rent.

I was in Lisbon ten years ago, and a Spanish gentleman (whose surname was Gonzalez) came to lodge in the same house where I was, and as we, after supper, were talking of the pope's supremacy and power, he told me that he himself was a living witness of the pope's authority on earth; and asking him how, he gave the following account:

I was born in Granade, (said he) of honest and rich, though not noble parents, who gave me the best education they could in that city. I was not twenty years of age, when my father and mother died, both within the space of six months. They left me all they had in the world, reccommending to me in their testament to take care of my sister Dorothea and to provide for her. She was the on-

ly sister I had, and at that time in the 18th year of her age. From our youth we had tenderly loved one another; and upon her account, quitting my studies, I gave myself up to her company. This tender brotherly love produced in my heart at last another sort of love for her; and tho' I never shewed her my passion, I was a sufferer by it. I was ashamed within myself, to see that I could not master nor overcome this irregular inclination; and perceiving that the persisting in it would prove the ruin of my soul, and of my sister's too, I finally resolved to quit the country for a while, to see whether I could dissipate this passion, and banish out of my heart this burning and consuming fire of love; and after having settled my affairs, and put my sister under the care of an aunt, I took my leave of her, who being surprised at this unexpected news, she upon her knees begged me to tell the reason that had moved me to quit the country; and telling her that I had no reason but only a mind and desire to travel two or three years, and that I begged of her not to marry any person in the world, until my return home, I left her and went to Rome. 'By letters of recommendation, by money, and by my careful deportment, I got myself in a little time into the favour and house of cardinal A. I. Two years I spent in his service at my own expence, and his kindness to me was so exceeding great, that I was not only his companion, but his favourite and con-

fident. All this while, I was so raving and in so deep a melancholy, that his eminence pressed upon me to tell him the reason. I told him that my distemper had no remedy. But he still insisted the more to know my distemper. At last I told him the love I had for my sister, and that it being impossible she should be my wife, my distemper had no remedy. To this he said nothing, but the day following went to the sacred palace, and meeting in the pope's anti-chamber cardinal P. I. he asked him whether the pope could dispense with the natural and divine impediment between brother and sister to be married, and as Cardinal P. I. said that the pope could not, my protector began a loud and bitter dispute with him, alledging reasons by which the pope could do it. The pope, hearing the noise, came out of his chamber, and asked what was the matter? He was told, and flying into an uncommon passion, said, the pope may do every thing, I do dispense with it; and left them with these words. The protector took testimony of the pope's declaration, and went to the datary, and drew a public instrument of the dispensation, and gave it to me, and said, though I shall be deprived of your good services and company, I am very glad that I serve you in this to your heart's desire and satisfaction. Take this dispensation, and go whenever you please to marry your sister. I left Rome, and came home, and after I had rested from the fatigue of so long a journey,

I went to present the dispensation to the bishop and to get his license; but he told me, that he could not receive the dispensation, nor give such a license; I acquainted my protector with this, and immediately an excommunication was dispatched against the bishop for having disobeyed the pope, and commanding him to pay a thousand pistoles for the treasure of the church, and to marry me himself; so I was married by the bishop, and at this present time I have five children by my wife and sister.

I could give several more instances of this nature to convince that the confessors, priests and friars, are the fundamental, original cause of almost all the mischiefs that happen in families. By the instances already given, every one may easily know the secret practices of some of the Romish priests. But I will dismiss this chapter by saying, that the confession is the mint of friars and priests, the sins of the penitents the metals, the absolution the coin of money, and the confessors the keepers of it.

PART II.

A PRACTICAL ACCOUNT OF THEIR MASSES, PRIVILEGED ALTARS, TRANSUBSTANTIATION AND PURGATORY.

THE Mass for priests and friars is better, and has greater power and virtue than the loadstone, for this only draws iron, but that allures and gets to them silver, gold, precious stones, and all sorts of fruits of the earth; therefore it is proper to give a description of every thing the priests make use of to render the mass magnificent.

The priest every morning, after he has examined his conscience and confessed his sins (which they call reconciliation) goes to the vestry and washes his hands; afterwards, he kneels down before an image of a crucifix, which is placed on the draws, where the ornaments are kept, and says several prayers and psalms, written in a book, called *preparaterium*. When the priest has done, he gets up, and goes to dress himself, all the ornaments being ready upon the draws, which are like the table of an altar; then he takes the Ambitio, which is like an Holland handkerchief, and kissing the middle of

it, puts it round about his neck, and says a short prayer. After, he takes the *Alva*, which is a long surplice with narrow sleeves, laced round about with fine lace, and says another prayer while he puts it on. The clerk is always behind to help him. Then he takes the *Cingulum*, i. e. the girdle, and says a prayer; after, he takes the *Stola*, which is a long list of silk, with a cross in the middle, and two crosses at the ends of it, and says another prayer while he puts it on his neck, and crosses it before his breast, and ties it with the ends of the girdle. After, he takes the *Manipulum*, i. e. a short list of the same silk, with as many crosses in it, and ties it on the left arm, saying a prayer. Then he takes the *Casulla*, i. e. a sort of a dress made of three yards of silk stuff, a yard wide behind, and something narrower before, with an hole in the middle to put his head through it. After he is thus dressed, he goes to the corner of the table, and taking the *chalice*, cleans it with a little Holland towel, with which the *chalice's* mouth is covered; he then puts a large host on the *patena*, i. e. a small silver plate gilt, which serves to cover the *chalice*, and puts on the host a neat piece of fine Holland laced all over. Then he covers all with a piece of silk, three quarters of a yard in square. After, he examines the *corporales*, i. e. two pieces of fine, well starched Holland, with lace round about; the first is three quarters of a yard square, and the second

half a yard, and folding them both, puts them in a flat cover, which he puts on the chalice, and taking a squared cap, if he is a secular priest, puts it on his head, and having the chalice in his hands, makes a great bow to the crucifix, says a prayer, and goes out of the vestry to the altar, where he designs to say mass. This is as to the private mass. Before I proceed to the great mass, which is always sung, it is fit to talk of the riches of their ornaments.

As in the Romish church are several festivals, viz. those of our Saviour Christ, christmas, circumcision, epiphany, easter, ascension, pentecostes, and transfiguration. Those of the holy cross; those of the blessed virgin Mary; those of the angels, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, &c. So there are several sorts of ornaments and of divers colours, white for all the festivals of Jesus Christ, except pentecostes, in which the ornaments are red; white also, for the festivals of the virgin Mary, confessors, and virgins; red for martyrs; violet colour for advent and lent; and black for the masses of the dead.

The same rule is observed in the fronts of the altar's table, or *ara altaris*, which are always adorned with hangings of the colour of the day's festivals. In every parish church and convent there are many ornaments of each of the said colours, all of the richest silks, with silver, gold and embroidery. There are many long cloaks or *palia* of all

sorts of colours, several dozens of *alvas*, or surplices of the finest holland, with the finest laces round about them, chalice of silver, the inside of the cup gilt, many of gold set with diamonds, and precious stones. There is one in the cathedral of St. Salvator, in the city of Saragossa, which weighs five pounds of gold, set all over with diamonds, and is valued at 15000 crowns, and this is not accounted an extraordinary one.

A possenet of silver gilt all over, to keep the holy water and hysop, with a silver handle, to be used in holy days at church, is an indispensable thing almost in every church ; as also two big candlesticks four feet high, for the two accolits or assistants to the great mass. In several churches there are two ciriales, i. e. big candlesticks five feet high all of silver, which weigh 200 pounds in some churches, and another bigger than these for the blessed candle on candlemas day. Six other middle silver candlesticks, which serve on the ara or altar's table, silver (and in many churches,) gold bottles and plate to keep the water and wine that is used in the mass, a small silver bell for the same use, an incensary, and stand for the missal, or mass-book, and another stand of silver two feet high, for the deacon and subdeacon to read on it the epistle and gospel.

There is also in the great altar the custodia, i. e. a figure of the sun and beams made of gold, and

many of them set with precious stones to keep in the centre of it the great consecrated host, in the middle of two crystals: The foot of the custodia is made of the same metal; it is kept in a gilt tabernacle, and shewn to the people upon several occasions, as I will mention in another place.

Besides this rich custodia, there is a large silver or gold cup kept in the same, or another tabernacle on another altar, which is to keep the small consecrated wafers for the communicants. Before those tabernacles a silver lamp is burning night and day. The altars are adorned on several festivals with the silver bodies of several saints, some as large as a man, some half bodies with crowns or mitres set with precious stones.

I could name several churches and convents, where I saw many rarities and abundance of rich ornaments, but this being thing generally known by the private accounts of many travellers, I shall only give a description of the rarities and riches of the church of the lady del Pilar, and that of St. Salvator, in the city of Saragossa; because I never met with any book which mention them, and the reason (as I believe) is, because foreigners do not travel much in Spain, for want of good conveniences on the road, and for the dismal journey in which they cannot see an house, sometimes in twenty miles, and sometimes in thirty.

In the cathedral church of St. Salvator there is

forty-five prebendaries, besides the dean, archdeacon, chanter, and sixty-six beneficates, six priests and a master, and twelve boys for the music, and sixty clerks and under clerks, and sextons. The church contains thirty chapels, large and small, and the great altar thirty feet high and ten broad, all of marble stone, and in the middle of it the transfiguration of our Saviour in the mount Tabor, with the apostles all represented in marble figures. The front of the altar's table is made of solid silver, the frame gilt and adorned with precious stones. In the treasure of the church they keep sixteen bodies of saints of pure silver, among which that of St. Peter Argues, (who was a prebendary in the same church, and was murdered by the Saracens) is adorned with rich stones of a great value. Besides these they keep twelve half silver bodies of other saints, and many relics set with gold and diamonds. Forty-eight silver candlesticks for the altar's table, two large ones, and the third for the blessed candle, three hundred pound weight each: thirty-six small silver candlesticks: and six made of solid gold for the great festivals. Four possenets of silver, two of solid gold, with the handles of hysops of the same. Two large crosses, one of silver, the other of gold, ten feet high, to carry before the processions. Ten thousand ounces of silver in plate, part of gilt, to adorn the two corners of the altar on great festivals, and when the archbishop officiates, and

says the great mass. Thirty-three silver lamps, of which the smallest is an hundred and fifty pounds weight, and the largest, which is before the great altar, gilt all over, is six hundred and thirty pounds weight. Abundance of rich ornaments for priests, of inexpressible value. Eighty-four chalices, twenty of pure gold, and sixty-four of silver, gilt on the inside of the cup; and the rich chalice which only the archbishop makes use of in his pontifical dress.

All these things are but trifles in comparison with the great custodia they make use of to carry the great host through the streets on the festival of Corpus Christi: This was a present made to the cathedral by the archbishop of Sevil, who had been prebendary of that church before. The circumference of the sun and beams is as big as the wheel of a coach: at the end of each beam there is a star. The centre of the sun, where the great host is placed between two crystals, set with large diamonds; the beams are all of solid gold set with several precious stones, and in the middle of each star, a rich emerald set in gold. The crystal with the great host is fixed in the mouth of the rich chalice on a pedestal of silver, all gilt over, which is three feet high. The whole custodia is five hundred pounds weight. And this is placed on a gilt base which is carried by twelve priests, as I shall tell you in another article. Several goldsmiths have endeavoured to value this piece, but nobody

could set a certain sum upon it. One said that a million of pistoles was too little. And how the archbishop could gather together so many precious stones, every body was surprised at, till we heard that a brother of his grace died in Peru, and left him great sums of money, and a vast quantity of diamonds and precious stones.

I come now to speak of the treasure and rarities of the Lady del Pilar. In the church of this lady is the same number of prebendaries and beneficiates, musicians, clerks and sextons, as in the cathedral church of St. Salvator, and as to the ornaments and silver plate they are very much the same, except only that of the great custodia, which is not so rich.—But as to the chapel of the blessed Virgin, there is without comparison more in it than in the cathedral. I shall treat of the image in another chapter. As to her riches, I will give an account as far as I remember.

In the little chapel, where the image is on a pillar, are four angles as large and tall as a man, with a big candlestick, each of which is made wholly of silver, gilt. The front of two altars is solid silver with gilt frames, set with rich stones. Before the image there is a lamp (as they call it) a spider of crystal, in which twelve wax candles burn night and day. The several parts of the spider are set with gold and diamonds, which was a present made to the Virgin by Don Jon of Austria, who also left her

in his last will his own heart, which accordingly was brought to her, and is kept in a gold box set with large diamonds, and which hangs before the image. There is a thick grate round about the little chapel of solid silver. Next to this is another chapel to say mass in before the image; and the altar-piece of it is all made of silver from the top to the altar's table, which is of jasper stone, and the front of silver, with the frame gilt, set with precious stones. The rich crown of the Virgin is twenty-five pounds weight, set all over with large diamonds. Besides this rich one, she has six pounds more of pure gold, set with rich diamonds and emeralds, the smallest of which is worth half a million.

The roses of diamonds and other precious stones she has to adorn her mantle are innumerable; for though she is drest every day in the colour of the church's festival, and never uses twice the same mantle, which is of the best stuff embroidered with gold, she has new roses of precious stones every day for three years together, she has three hundred and sixty-five necklaces of pearls and diamonds, and six chains of gold set with diamonds, which are put on her mantle on the great festival of Christ.

In the room of her treasure are innumerable heads, arms, legs, eyes and hands made of gold and silver, presented to her by the people, which have been cured (as they believe) by miracles through the Virgin's divine power and intercessions. In

this second chapel are one hundred and ninety-five silver lamps in three lines one over the other: the lamps of the lowest rank are bigger than those of the second, and these are bigger than those of the third. The five lamps facing the image are about five hundred pounds weight each, the sixty of the same line four hundred pounds weight, and those of the third line, one hundred pounds weight. Those of the second line are two hundred pounds weight. There is the image of the Virgin in the treasure made in the shape of a woman five feet high, all of pure silver, set with precious stones, and a crown of gold set with diamonds, and this image is to be carried in a public procession the days appointed.

I remember that when the Rt. Hon. L'd Stanhope, then General of the English forces, was in Saragossa, after the battle, he went to see the treasure of the lady of Pilar, which was shown to him, and I heard him say these words: "If the kings of Europe should gather together all their treasures and precious stones, they could not buy half the riches of this treasury." And by this expression of so wise and experienced a man, every one may judge of their value.

After this short account of the ornaments to be used at mass, and the incomparable treasures of the Romish church, I proceed to a description of the great or high masses, their ceremonies, and of all the motions and gestures the priests make in the celebration of a mass.

Besides the priest, there must be a deacon, subdeacon, rwo *acoliti*, i. e. two to carry the large candlesticks before the priest, and one to carry the incensary. The incenser helps the priest when he dresses himself in the vestry, and the two acoliti help the deacon and subdeacon. When all three are dressed, the incenser and the two acoliti in their surplices, and large collars round about their necks, made of the same stuff as that of the priest's casula, and deacon and subdeacon's aalmaticas, i. e. a sort of casula, with open sleeves, I say, the incenser puts fire in the incensary, and the acoliti takes the candlesticks with the wax candles lighted, and the subdeacon takes the chalice and corporals, and so making a bow to the crucifix in the vestry, they go out into the church to the great altar. There are commonly three steps to go up to the altar, and the priest and five assistants kneel down at the first step, then leaving the incense and acoliti to stay there, the priest, deacon, and subdeacon go up to the altar's table, and all kneel down there again. The subdeacon leaves the chalice on a little table next to the altar's table at the right hand, and then they turn back again to the highest step, and kneeling down again, the priest, deacon and subdeacon get up, leaving the incenser and acoliti on their knees, and begin the mass by a psalm, and after it the priest says the general confession of sins, to which the deacon and subdeacon answer: *Mesercа-*

tor tui, &c. They then say the general confession themselves, and after it, the priest absolves them, and saying another psalm, they go up again to the altar's table, which the priest kisses, and he and the two assistants kneel down, and rise again. Then the incenser brings the incensary and incense, and the priest puts in three spoons full of it and taking the incensary from the deacon's hands he incenses three times the tabernacle of Eucharista, and goes twice to each side of it, he kneels down then, and the deacon takes up the hem of the priest's casulla, and so goes from the middle of the altar to the right corner, incensing the table, and returning from the corner to the middle, then kneels down and gets up, and goes to the left corner, and from the left goes again to the right corner, and giving the incensary to the deacon, he incenses three times the priest, and gives the incensary to the incenser, and this incenses twice the deacon. The assistants always follow the priest, making the same motions that he does.

The incenser has the missal or mass-book ready on the altar's table at the right corner, and so the priest begins the psalm of the mass: All this while the musicians are singing the beginning of the mass till *kyrie eleijon* and when they have finished, the priest sings three words: *Gloria in elcelsis deo.* And the musicians sing the rest. While they are singing the priest, deacon and subdeacon, making a bow to

the tabernacle, go to sit on three rich chairs at the right hand of the ara or altar's table; and as soon as the music has ended the gloria, they go to the middle of the table, kneel down, and get up, and the priest kissing the table turns to the people, opening his arms, and says, in Latin, *The Lord be with you*, to which and all other expressions the music and the people answer; then turns again his face to the altar, kneels down, gets up, and the assistants doing the same, the priest goes to the right corner, and says the collect for the day, and two or sometimes five or six prayers in commemoration of the saints; and last of all, a prayer for the pope, king and bishop of the diocess, against heretics, infidels and enemies of their religion, or the holy catholic faith.

Then the subdeacon, taking the book of the epistles and gospels, goes down to the lowest step, and sings the epistle, which ended, he goes up to the priest, kisses his hand, leaves the book of the gospels on the little table, takes the missal, or mass-book, and carries it to the left corner. Then the priest goes to the middle, kneels down, kisses the altar, says a prayer, and goes to say the gospel, while the music is singing a psalm, which they call *Tractus gradualis*. The gospel ended, the priest goes again to the middle, kneels down, rises and kisses the table, and turns half to the altar and half to the people, and the deacon, giving him the in-

cense-box, he puts in three spoons full of it, and blesses the incense. The incenser takes it from the deacon, who taking the book of the gospel, kneels down before the priest and asks his blessing: the priest gives the blessing and the deacon kisses his hand, and then he goes to the left corner and sings the gospel. While the deacon sings the gospel, the priest goes to the opposite corner and there stands till the gospel is ended: Then the deacon carries to him the book open, and the priest kissing it, goes to the middle of the table and kneeling, rising, kissing the table, the assistants doing the same, he turns his face to the people, opens his arms, and says again, "The Lord be with you." Then he turns again before the altar, and says, *Let us pray.* The music begins the offertory, when there is no creed to be sung, for there is no creed in all their festivals.

While the musicians sing the offertory, the deacon prepares the chalice, that is, he puts the wine in it, and after him, the subdeacon pours in three drops of water and cleaning nicely the mouth of the cup, the deacon gives it to the priest, who takes it in his hands, and offering it to the eternal, sets it on the clean corporales, and covers it with a small piece of fine holland; then he says a prayer, and putting incense in the incensary, as before, kneels, and then rising, incenses the table, as is said, which done, the subdeacon pours water on the priest's

fore fingers, which he washes and wipes with a clean towel, and after returns to the middle of the table, and after some prayers, he begins to sing the preface, which ended, he says some other prayers. Before the consecration, he joins his two hands, and puts them before his face, shuts his eyes, and examines his conscience for two or three minutes; then opening his eyes and arms, says a prayer, and begins the consecration. At this time every body is silent, to hear the words, and when the priest comes to pronounce them, he says with a loud voice, in Latin, *Hoc est enim corpus meum.* Then he leaves the consecrated host on the *ara*, kneels down, and getting up, takes again the host with his two thumbs and two foremost fingers, and lift it up, as high as he can, that every body may see it, and leaving it again on the same ara, kneels down, and then rising up, takes the chalice, and after he has consecrated the wine, leaves it on the ara, and making the same motions and bows, he lifts it up as he did the host, and placing it on the ara, covers it, and with the same gestures, he says a prayer in remembrance of all the saints, all parents, relations, friends, and of all the souls in purgatory, but especially of that soul for whom the sacrifice of that mass is offered to God by Jesus Christ himself. I say, by Jesus Christ himself, for as Chrysostom and Amb. say, the priest, not only representing Christ, but in the act of celebrating and consecrating is the

very same Christ himself. Thus it is in the catechism published by the decree of the council of Trent.

Between this and the sumption, or the taking of the host, and drinking of the cup, the priest says some prayers, and sings *Our Father*, in latin, kneeling down several times. When he comes to the communion, he breaks the host by the middle, leaves one part on the table, and breaks off the other half, a little piece, and puts it into the cup ; this done, he eats the two half hosts, and drinks the wine, and for fear any small fragments should remain in the cup, the deacon puts in more wine, and the priest drinks it up, and going to the corner with the chalice, the subdeacon pours water upon the priest's two thumbs and foremost fingers, and being well washed, goes to the middle of the table, and drinks up the water. Then the deacon takes the cup and wipes it, and putting on every thing, as when they came to the altar, gives it to the subdeacon, who leaves it on the little table near the altar. After this is done, the priest, kneeling and getting up, turning to the people and opening his arms, says, *the Lord be with you*, and two or more prayers ; and last of all, the gospel of St. John, with which he ends the mass ; so in the same order they went out of the vestry, they return into it again, saying a prayer for the souls in purgatory. After the priest is undrest, the incenser and acoliti

kneel down before him, and kiss his right hand. Then they undress themselves, and the priest goes to the humiliatory to give God thanks for all his benefits.

The same ceremonies, motions and gestures the priest makes in a private mass, but not so many in a mass for the dead. They have proper masses for the holy Trinity, for Christ, the Virgin Mary, Angels, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and for the dead, the ornaments for this last are always black. This is a true description of the ceremonies of the mass: now let us give an account of the means the priests make use of for the promoting of this sacrifice, and increasing their profit.

The custom, or rule for public masses, which are always sung, is this; the person that goes to the clerk and asks a mass to be sung, carries at least six wax candles, which burn on the altar's table, while the mass lasts, and a good offering for the priest, and besides that, must give the charity, which is a crown, and the same for a mass sung for the dead; but if a person have a mind to have a mass sung, such or such a day forever, he must give, or settle upon the chapter or community, a pistole every year, and these are called settled masses, and there are of these masses in every parish, church and convent, more than the priests and friars can say in a year; for ever since the comedy of the mass began to be acted on the stage of the church,

the bigots of it successively have settled masses every year; the priests and friars then cannot discharge their conscience, while they keep the people ignorant of the truth of the matter.

Thus they blind the people. Suppose to be in a convent one hundred friars and priests, and that in that convent are two hundred private and public masses settled every day, the charity of one hundred is a manifest fraud and robbery, for they receive it, and cannot say the masses. And nevertheless they accept every day new foundations and settlements of masses; for if the people ask the dean or prior, whether there is a vacancy for a mass, they will never answer no; and in this way they increase the yearly rents continually.

This is to be understood of the chapter or community, and I must say that the chapters, and parish churches are not so hard upon the people, as the convents of friars are, though they are not so rich as the communities. The reason is, because a parish priest has, during his life, his tithes and book money. But a prior of a convent commands that community only three years, therefore, while the office lasts, they endeavour to make money of every thing. I knew several priors very rich after their priorship, and how did they get riches, but by blinding and cheating the people, exacting money for masses which never were said nor sung, nor ever will be?

As to the private priests and friars, there is so

much to be said of them, that I cannot, in so small a book as this is, give a full account of all. I shall therefore, only tell the most usual methods they have to heap up riches by gathering thousands of masses every year.

Observe first of all, that if the priest is a parish minister, or vicar, he has every day of the year certain families, for whose souls, or for the souls of their ancestors, he is to celebrate and offer the sacrifice of the mass. And if he is a friar, he has but one mass every week left to him, for six days he is obliged to say mass for the community. So, by this certain rule, a parish minister cannot in conscience receive any money for masses, when he knows he cannot say more masses than those settled for every day of the year; and by the same rule, a friar cannot in conscience receive more money than for fifty-two masses every year, and consequently those that receive more are deceivers of the poor ignorant people, robbers of their money, and commit sacrilege in so doing.

And that they take more than they in justice can, shall appear in several instances. First, I never saw either secular or regular priest refuse the charity for a mass, when a christian soul asked them to say it; and I knew hundreds of priests mighty officious in asking masses from all sorts of people. Secondly, in all familes whatsoever, if any one is dangerously sick, there are continually friars and

priests waiting till the person dies, and troubling the chief of the family with petitions for masses for the soul of the deceased; and if he is rich the custom is to distribute among all the convents, and parishes one thousand or more masses to be said the day of the burial. When the marquis of St. Martin died, his lady distributed a hundred thousand masses, for which she paid the very same day five thousand pounds sterling, besides one thousand masses, which she settled upon all the convents and parish churches, to be said every year forever, which amounts to a thousand pistoles a year forever.

Thirdly, The friars, most commonly are rich, and have nothing of their own; (as they say) some are assisted by their parents, but these are very few.—They give two thirds of whatever they get to the community; and in some strict orders the friars ought to give all to the convent; nevertheless, they are never without money in their pockets, for all sorts of diversions; and it is a general observation, that a friar at cards is a resolute man; for as he does not work to get money, or is sure of getting more if he loses, he does not care to put all on one card; therefore gentlemen do not venture to play with them, so they are obliged to play with one another.

I saw several friars who had nothing in the world but the allowance of their community, and the charity of fifty-two masses a year, venture on the card

fifty pistoles: another lose two hundred pistoles in half an hour's time, and the next day have money enough to play. And this is a thing so well known, that many of our officers that have been in Spain, can certify the truth of it, as eye-witnesses.

The method they take to pick up money for so many masses, they do not tell it; but as I never was bound not to discover it, and the discovery of it, I hope will be very useful to the Roman catholics, though disadvantageous to priests and friars, I think myself obliged in conscience, to reveal this never revealed secret, for it is for the public good, not only of protestants, who by this shall know thoroughly, the cheats of the Romish priests, but of the Roman catholics too, who bestow their money for nothing to a people that make use of it to ruin their souls and bodies. It is in this manner:

The friars are said to have a privilege from the Pope (I never saw such a privilege myself, though I did all my endeavours to search and find it out) of a *centenaria missa*, i. e. a brief, where the Pope grants them the privilege of saying one mass for a hundred; which privilege is divulged among priests and friars, who keep it in secret among themselves: so that, as they say, one mass is equivalent to a hundred masses. I did not question when I was in that communion, that the Pope could do that and more, but I was suspicious of the truth of such a grant. Now observe that by this brief, every friar, having

for himself fifty-two masses free every year, and one mass being as good as a hundred, he may get the charity of 5200 masses, and the least charity for every mass being two reals of plate ; i. e. fourteen-pence of our money, he may get near 300 pound a year.

The secular priests, by their brief of centenaria missa, have more masses, than the private friars ; for though they have 365 settled masses to say in a year, they have, and may get the charity of 99 masses every day, which comes to three millions, six thousand, one hundred, and thirty-five masses every year. In the convents that have 120 friars, and some 400, the prior, having six masses every week from each of his friars, by the same rule, the prior may have millions of millions of masses.

Hear now, how they amuse the credulous people. If a gentleman or gentlewoman, or any other person goes to church, and desires one mass to be said for such or such a soul, and to be present at it, there is always a friar ready, from six in the morning, till one, to say mass. He takes the charity for it, and he goes to say it ; which he says for that soul as I say now : For till such time as he gets the charity of a hundred masses, which is above five pounds sterling, he will not say his own mass, or the mass for him. And so the rest of the friars do, and many priests too : the person that has given the charity and has heard the mass, goes home fully satisfied that the mass has been said for him, or to his intention.

As to the communities: If somebody dies, and the executors of the testament go to a father prior, and beg of him to say a thousand masses, he gives them a receipt, whereby the masses are said already; for he makes them believe that he has more masses said already by his friars to his own intention, and that out of the number he applies a thousand for the soul of the dead person; so the executors upon his word, take the receipt of the masses which they want to show to the Vicar-General, who is to visit the testament, and see every spiritual thing ordered in it, accomplished accordingly.

This custom of asking money for masses, is not only among the friars, but among the beatas, and nuns too, for a beata, with an affected air of sanctity goes up and down to visit the sick, and asks beforehand many masses from the heads of families, alledging that by her prayers and so many masses, the sick may be recovered, and restored to his former health; but these, if they get money for masses, they give it to their spiritual confessors, who say them as the beata ordereth. And according to their custom and belief, there is no harm at all in so doing. The evil is in the nuns, who get every where abundance of masses, on pretence they have priests and friars of their relations, who want the charity of masses. And what do they with the money? Every nun, having a Devoto, or gallant to serve her, desires him to say so many masses for her, and to

give her a receipt; he promises to do it, but he never does say the masses, though he gives a receipt: so the nun keeps the money, the friar is paid by her in an unlawful way, the people are cheated, and the souls in purgatory (if there was such a place) shall remain there forever, for want of relief.

But the worst of it is, that a public, scandalous woman, will gather together a number of masses, on pretence that she has a cousin in such a convent, who wants masses, i. e. the charity for them. And what use do they make of them? This is an abomination to the Lord. They have many friars who visit them unlawfully, and pay for it in masses: so the woman keeps the money in payment of her own and their sins, gets a receipt from the friars, and these never say the masses; for how can we believe that such men can offer the holy sacrifice, (as they call the mass) for such a use? And if they do it, which is, in all human probability, impossible, who would not be surprised at these proceedings? Every body indeed.

There is another custom in the church of Rome, which brings a great deal of profit to the priests and friars, viz. the great masses of brotherhoods or fraternities. In every parish church, and especially in every convent of friars and nuns, there is a number of these fraternities, i. e. corporations of tradesmen: and every corporation has a saint for their

advocate or patron : viz. the corporation of shoemakers, has for an advocate St. Chrispin and Chrispinia ; the butchers St. Bartholomew, &c. and so of the rest. There is a prior of the corporation, who celebrates the day of their advocate with a solemn mass, music, candles, and after all, an entertainment for the members of the fraternity, and all the friars of the community. To this the corporation gives eight dozen of white wax candles to illuminate the altar of their patron, when the solemn mass is sung, and whatever remains of the candles goes to the convent. The prior pays to the community twenty crowns for the solemn mass, and ten crowns to the musicians. The day following the corporation gives three dozen yellow candles, and celebrates an anniversary, and have many masses sung for the relief of their brethren's souls in purgatory ; for every mass they pay a crown ; and besides all these, the corporation has a mass settled every Friday, which is to be sung for the relief of the brethren's souls, for which and candles, the convent receives six crowns every Friday. There is not one church nor convent without two or three of these corporations every week ; for there are saints enough in the church for it, and by these advocates of the friars, rather than of the members of the corporation, every body may form a right judgment of the riches the priests and friars get by these means.

One thing I cannot pass by, though it has no relation with the main subject of the mass; and this is, that after the solemn mass is finished, the prior of the corporation, with his brethren, and the prior of the convent, with his friars, go all together to the refectory or common-hall, to dinner, there they make rare demonstrations of joy, in honour of the advocate of that corporation. The prior of the convent makes a short speech before dinner, recommending to them to eat and drink heartily, for after they have paid all the honour and reverence to their advocate that is due, they ought to eat and drink and be merry; so they drink till they are happy, though not drunk.

I heard a pleasant story reported in town, from a faithful person, who assured me he saw, himself, a friar, come out of the refectory, at eight at night, and as he came out of the convent's gate, the moon shining that night, and the shadow of the house being in the middle of the street, the merry friar thinking that the light of the moon, in the other half part of the street, was water, he took off his shoes and stockings, and so walked till he reached the shadow; and being asked by my friend, the meaning of such extravagant folly, the friar cried out, *A miracle, A miracle!* The gentleman thought that the friar was mad: but he cried the more, *A miracle, A miracle. Where is the miracle?* (the people that came to the windows asked him;) *I*

came this minute through this river (said he) *and I did not wet the soles of my feet;* and then he desired the neighbors to come and be witnesses of the miracle. In such a condition the honor of the advocate of that day put the reverend friars; and this and the like effects such festivals occasion, both in the members of the convents and corporation.

Now I come to the means and persuasions, the friars make use of for the extolling, and praising this inestimable sacrifice of the mass, and the great ignorance of the people in believing them. First of all, as the people know the debaucheries and lewd lives of many friars and priests, sometimes they are loth to desire a sinful friar to say mass for them, thinking that his mass cannot be so acceptable to God Almighty as that which is said by a priest of good morals: So far the people are illuminated by nature; but to this priests and friars make them believe, that though a priest be the greatest sinner in the world, the sacrifice is of the same efficacy with God, since it is the sacrifice made by Christ on the Cross for all sinners; and that it was so declared by the pope, and the council of Trent.

Put it together with what the same council declares, that the priest not only represents Christ when he offers the sacrifice, but that he is the very person of Christ at that time, and that therefore David calls them Christs by these words: *Nolite tangere Christos meos.* O execrable thing! If the priest is

the very Christ in the celebration of the mass, how can he at the same time be a sinner? It being certain that Christ knew no sin: and if that Christ-Priest, offering the sacrifice, is in any actual moral sin, how can the sacrifice of the mass, which is (as to them) the same sacrifice Christ did offer to his eternal Father on the cross, be efficacious to the expiation of the sins of the people? For, in the first place, that sacrifice offered by a priest Christ, in an actual moral sin cannot be an expiation of the sin, by which the priest is spiritually dead. Secondly, if the Christ-Priest is spiritually dead by that mortal sin, how can such a priest offer a lively spiritual sacrifice? We must conclude then, that the priests, by such blasphemous expressions, not only deceive the people, but rob them of their money, and commit a high crime, but that the sacrifice he offers is really of no effect, or efficacy to the relief of the soul in the pretended purgatory.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE PRIVILEGED ALTAR.

A privileged altar, is the altar to which (or to some image on it) the pope has granted a privilege of such a nature, that whosoever says before it, or

before the image, so many pater nosters, &c. and so many ave Maria's, with gloria patri, &c. obtains remission of his sins, or relieves a soul out of purgatory: or whoever orders a mass to be said on the ara of such an altar, and before the image, has the privilege (as they believe) to take out of purgatory that soul for which the sacrifice of the mass is offered.

The cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, can grant to any image forty days of full and free indulgence, and 15 quarantains of pardon, for those that visit the said image, and say such a prayer before it as they have appointed at the granting of such graces: So not only the images of the altars in the church, but several images in the corners of the streets, and on the highway, have those graces granted to them by the Bishop of the diocess: Nay, the beads or rosary of the Virgin Mary, of some considerable persons, have the same grants: And what is yet more surprising, the picture of St. Anthony's pig, which is placed at the saint's feet, has the granting of fifteen quarantains of pardon of sins for those that visit and pray before him. What the people do on St. Martin's day, I shall tell in another chapter.

I will not dispute now, whether the popes and bishops have authority to grant such privileges; but I only say, that I do not believe such a dream: for the pope has usurped the supremacy and infallibili-

ty, and his ambition being so great, he never will dispossess himself of a thing by which he makes himself more supreme, infallible, and rich; by keeping all those graces in his own hands, he would oblige all the bigots to seek after him and pay him for them, and have him in more veneration than otherwise he would be in.

These privileges are a great furtherance to carry on the eclesiastical interests, and to bring the people to offer their prayers and money, and to be blinded and deceived by those papal inventions.—But because I have already treated of these privileges I proceed to the third article.

ARTICLE III.

OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION, OR THE EUCHARIST.

I shall say nothing, touching the scholastical opinions of the Romish church about the sacrament of the Eucharist, or the real presence of Jesus Christ in it; for these are well known by our learned and well instructed laity: so I will confine myself wholly to their practices in the administration of this sacrament, and the worship paid to it by the priests and laity; and what strange notions the preachers put in the people's heads about it.

First, as to the administration of this sacrament, actual or habitual intention being necessary in a priest, to the validity and efficacy of the sacrament, open confession and repentance of his sins: he goes to consecrate the bread and wine, and, (as they say, believe, and make the people believe) with five words they oblige Jesus Christ to descend from heaven to the host with his body, soul and divinity, and that so he remains there as high and almighty as he is in heaven; which they endeavour to confirm with pretended miracles; saying, that many priests of pure lives have seen a little boy, instead of a wafer, in the consecrated host, &c.

In winter, twice every month, and in summer, every week, the priest is to consecrate one great host, and a quantity of small ones: Which they do in the following manner. After the priest has consecrated the great and small, besides the host which he is to receive himself, the priests of the parish, or friars of the convent, come in two lines, with wax candles lighted in their hands, and kneel down before the altar, and begin to sing an hymn and anthem to the sacrament of the altar (so it is called by them;) then the priest opens the tabernacle where the great old host is kept between two crystals, and takes out of the tabernacle the custodia, and a cup of small consecrated wafers, and puts them on the table of the altar; then he takes the great old host,

eats it, and so he does the small ones; then he puts the new, great, consecrated host between the two crystals of the custodia, and the new small ones into the communion cup; because the small ones serve the common people. Then he incenses the great host on his knees, and having a white, neat towel round his neck, with the ends of it he takes the custodia, and turns to the people and makes the figure of a cross before the people, and turning to the altar, puts the custodia, and the cup of the small wafers in the tabernacle and locks the door, and the priests go away.

The reason why the great host, and the small ones are renewed twice a month in winter, and every week in summer (as they say) is (mind this reason, for the same is against them) because in summer, by the excessive heat, the host may be corrupted and putrified, and produce worms, which many times has happened to the great host, as I myself have seen. So to prevent this, they consecrate every week in summer-time, but in winter, which is a more favourable time to preserve the host from corruption, only once in a fortnight. If Christ is then in the host with the body, soul and divinity, and David says, that the *holy One*, i. e. (Christ who is God blessed forevermore) *Never shall see corruption.* How comes it, that that host, that holy one, that Christ, is sometimes, corrupted and putrified? The substance of bread being only subject to cor-

ruption, being vanished, and the body of Jesus Christ substituted in its place, this body by a just inference is corrupted; which is against the scripture and against the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Again, I ask, whether the worms, engendered in that host, come out of the real body of Christ, or out of the material substance of the host? If out of the body of Christ: every body may infer from this the consequences his own fancy suggests. And if they say that the worms are engendered in the material substance of the bread; then the substance of the bread remains after the consecration, and not as they say, the real substance of the body of Christ.

Again, It is a rule given by all the Casuists, that that host must be eaten by the priest. I do ask the priest that eats the host with the worms, whether he believes that host and worms to be the real body of Christ or not: If he says no, why does he eat it to the prejudice of his own health? And if he believes it to be the real body of Christ, I do ask again, whether the worms are Christ, with body, soul, and divinity, or not? If they are not, I give the said instance: And if they answer in the affirmative; then I say, that a priest did not eat the host and worms, (as I saw myself) on pretence of the loathing of his stomach, and after the mass was ended, he carried the host, (two priests accompanying him with two candles) and threw it into a place, which they call Piscina, a place where they throw

the dirty water after they wash their hands, which runs out of the church into the street. What can we say now? If the worms and corrupted host is the real body of Christ, see what a value they have for him, when they throw it away like dirty water; and if that host comes out of the running piscina into the street, the first dog, or pig passing by (which is very common in Spain) may eat it. And if they are not, besides the said instance of eating it to the prejudice of their health, we may add this: namely, Why do the priests and two more carry the host in form of procession and with so great veneration, with lights and psalms, as if it was the real body of Christ?

Now, as to the way of administering the sacrament to the people, they do it in the following manner, which is also against their fantastical transubstantiation. I said that the priest or friar consecrates small hosts once a week, to give them to the people when they go to receive. The priest in his surplice and I with the stola on, goes to the altar, says the prayer of the sacrament, opens the tabernacle, and taking out of it the cup, opens it, and turning to the communicants, takes one of the wafers with his thumb and forem st finger of his right hand, lifts it up, and says: "See the lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world," which he repeats three times; and after goes straig t way to the communicants, and puts a wafer into each of

their mouths. When all have received, he puts the cup again into the tabernacle, and goes to the vestry. This is when the people receive before or after mass, but when they do receive at mass, the priest consecrates for himself a great host, and after he has eaten it, he takes the cup out of the tabernacle and gives the small wafers, consecrated before by another priest, to the communicants, and putting again the cup into the tabernacle, or sacrarium (as they call it) drinks the consecrated wine himself.

Secondly. In the Dominican's convent it happened that a lady who had a lap-dog, which she always used to carry with her, went to receive the sacrament with the dog under her arm, and the dog looking up and beginning to bark when the friar went to put the wafer in the lady's mouth, he let the wafer fall, which happened to drop into the dog's mouth. Both the friar and the lady were in a deep amazement and confusion, and knew not what to do; so they sent for the reverend father prior, who resolved this nice point upon the spot, and ordered to call two friars and the clerk, and to bring the cross, and two candlesticks with candles lighted, and to carry the dog in form of procession into the vestry, and keep the poor little creature there with illuminations, as if he was the host itself, till the digestion of the wafer was over, and then to kill the dog and throw it into the pisci-

na. Another friar said, it was better to open the dog immediately, and take out the fragments of the host; and a third was of opinion, that the dog should be burnt on the spot. The lady who loved dearly her Cupid (this was the dog's name) entreated the father prior to save the dog's life, if possible, and that she would give every thing to make amends for it. Then the prior and friars retired to consult what to do in this case, and it was resolved that the dog should be called for the future, *El perillo del sacramento*, i. e. The sacrament's dog. 2. That if the dog should happen to die, the lady was to give him a burying in consecrated ground. 3. That the lady should take care not to let the dog play with other dogs. 4. That she was to give a silver dog, which was to be placed upon the tabernacle where the hosts are kept. And 5. That she should give twenty pistoles to the convent. Every article was performed accordingly, and the dog was kept with a great deal of care and veneration. The case was printed, and so came to the ears of the inquisitors, and Don Pedro Guerrero first inquisitor, thinking the thing very scandalous, sent for the poor dog, and kept him in the inquisition to the great grief of the lady. What became of the dog nobody can tell. This case is worthy to be reflected on by serious, learned men, who may draw consequences to convince the Romans of the follies, covetousness, and superstitions of the priests.

3dly. I have said already in another place, that the Reverend father friar James Garcia was reputed among the learned, the only man for divinity in this present age; and that he was my master, and by his repeated kindness to me, I may say, that I was his well beloved disciple. I was to defend a public thesis of divinity in the university, and he was to be president, or moderator. The thesis contained the following Treatises. *De Essentia and Attributis Dei: De Visione beatifica; De Gratia Justificante and auxiliante: De Providentia: De Actu Libero: De Trinitate: and de Sacramentis in genere.* All which I had learned from him. The shortest treatise, of all he taught publicly in the university, was the Eucharistia. The proofs of his opinion were short, and the objections against them very succinct and dark. I must confess, that I was full of confusion, and uneasy for fear that some doctor of divinity would make an argument against our opinion touching the sacrament of Eucharistia. And I endeavoured to ask my master to instruct me, and furnish me with answers suitable to the most difficult objections that could be proposed; but though he desired me to be easy about it, and that upon necessity, he would answer for me; I replied with the following objection. God never will punish any man for not believing what is against the evidence of our senses, but the real presence in Eucharistia is so:—*Ergo* (*salva fide*) God will

not punish any man for not believing the real presence of Christ there. To this he told me, that none of the doctors would propose such an argument to me, and he advised me not to make such an objection in public, but to keep it in my heart. But father (said I) I ask your answer; my answer is (said he) *aliud Lingua doceo, aliud Corde credo*, i. e. I teach one thing, and I believe another. By these instances, I have given now, every body may easily know the corruptions of the Romish church, and the nonsensical opinions of their priests and friars, as also, that the learned do not believe in their hearts, that there is such a monster as *transubstantiation*, though for some worldly ends, they do not discover their true sentiments about it.

Now I proceed to the worship, and adoration, both the clergy and laity pay to the holy host or sacrament.

I shall not say any thing of what the people do, when the priests in a procession under a canopy carried the sacrament to the sick, for this custom and the pomp of it, and the idolatrous worship and adoration offered to it, is well known by our travellers and officers of the army.

Philip the IV., king of Spain, as he was a hunting, met in the way a crowd of people following a priest, and asking the reason, he was told that the priest carried the consecrated water in his bosom to a sick person; the priest walked, and the king

leaving his horse, desired the priest to mount and ride on it, and holding the stirrup, bareheaded, he followed the priest all the way to the house, and gave him the horse for a present. From the king to the shepherd, all people pay the same adoration to the holy host, which shall be better known by the pomp and magnificence they carry the great host with, in the solemn festival of Corpus Christi, or of Christ's body. I shall describe only the general procession made on that day in Saragossa, of which I was an eye-witness.

Though the festival of corpus Christi be a moveable feast, it always falls on a Thursday. That day is made the great general procession of corpus Christi, and the Sunday following, every congregation, through the streets of the parish, and every convent of friars and nuns through the cloisters of the convent go with great pomp to the private procession of Christ's body. As to the general great one, the festival is ordered in the following manner.

The Dean of the cathedral church of St. Salvator, sends an officer to summon all the communities of friars, all the clergy of the parish churches, the Viceroy, governor and magistrates, the judges of the civil and criminal council, with the lord chancellor of the kingdom and all the fraternities, brotherhoods, or corporations of the city, to meet together on the Thursday following, in the metropolitan cathedral church of St. Salvator, with all the

standards, trumpets, giants,* both of the greater or lesser size in their respective habits of office or dignity; and all the clergy of the parish churches, and friars of convents, to bring along with them in a procession, with due reverence, all the silver bodies of saints on a base or pedestal, which are in their churches and convents:—Item, orders are published in every street, that the inhabitants, or house-keepers are to clean the streets, which the sacrament is to go through, and cover the ground with greens, and flowers, and to put the best hangings in the fronts of the balconies, and windows: All which is done accordingly; or else he that does not obey and perform such orders, is to pay 20 pistoles without any excuse whatsoever.

At three in the afternoon, the vice-roy goes in state with the governor, judges, magistrates, and officers, to meet the archbishop in his palace, and to accompany his grace to church, where all the communities of friars, clergy and corporations, are waiting for them. The dean and chapter receive them at the great porch, and after the archbishop has made a prayer before the great altar, the mu-

* *Three big giant men, and three giant women; and six little ones, drest in men and women's clothes, made of thin wood, and carried by a man hid under the clothes. The big ones are fifteen feet high, which are kept in the hall of the city, for the magnificence and splendor of that day.*

sic begins to sing, *Pange lingua gloriosa*, while the archbishop takes out of the tabernacle the host upon the rich chalice, and places it on the great custodia, on the altar's table. Then the choir begins the evening songs, in which the archbishop in his pontifical habit officiates, and when all is over, his grace gives the blessing to the people with the sacrament in his hands. Then the archbishop, with the help of the dean, archdeacon, and chanter, places the custodia on a gilt pedestal, which is adorned with flowers and the jewels of several ladies of quality, and which is carried on the shoulders of twelve priests, drest in the same ornaments they say mass in. This being done, the procession begins to go out of the church in the following order.

First of all the bagpipe, and the great and small giant, dancing all along the streets. 2. The big silver cross of the cathedral, carried by a clerk-priest, and two young assistants, with silver candlesticks and lighted candles. 3. From the cross to the piper, a man with a high hook goes and comes back again while the procession lasts. The hook is called St. Paul's hook, because it belongs to St. Paul's church. That hook is very sharp, and they make use of it in that procession, to cut down the signs of taverns and shops, for fear that the holy custodia should be spoiled. 4. The standard and sign of the youngest corporation, and all the members of it, with a wax candle in their hands, form-

ing two lines, whom all the corporations follow one after another in the same order. There are thirty corporations, and the smallest is composed of thirty members. 5. The boys and girls of the blue hospital, with their master, mistress, and the chaplain in his alva, stola, and long sacerdotal cloak. 6. The youngest religion (the order of St. Francis, is called St. Francis' religion, and so are all orders, which they reckon seventy, and which we may really, in the phrase of a satirical gentleman, call seventy religions without religion) with their reverend and two friars more at the end of each order, drest in the ornaments they use at the altar: and so all the orders go one after another in the same manner. There are twenty convents of friars, and on this solemn festival, every one being obliged to go to the procession, we reckon there may be about two thousand present on this occasion; to which may be added sixteen convents of nuns, the number of them by regular computation, fifteen thousand. 7. The clergy of the youngest parish, with the parish cross before, and the minister of it behind them in sacred ornaments. And so the clergy of the other parishes follow one another in the same order, every friar and priest having a white wax candle lighted in his hand.

The number of secular priests, constantly residing in Saragossa is twelve hundred in that one town: So by the said account, we shall find all the ecclesi-

astical persons to amount to four thousand seven hundred, when the whole of the inhabitants come to fifteen thousand families.

8. The clergy of the cathedrals of St. Salvator, and the lady of Pilar, with all their sacerdotal ornaments, as also the musicians of both cathedrals which go before the custodia or sacrament, singing all the way. Then the twelve priests more, that carry the canopy, under which the sacrament goes, and under the end of it, the dean, and two prebends, as deacon and sub-deacon. The arch-bishop in his pontifical habit goes at the sub-deacon's right hand, the vice-roy at the arch-bishop's, and the deacon and sub-deacon, one at the right, and the other at the left, all under the canopy. Six priests, with incense and incensaries on both sides of the custodia, go incensing the sacrament without intermission : for while one kneels down before the great host, and incenses it three times, the other puts incense in his incensary, and goes to relieve the other, and thus they do, from the coming out of the church, till they return back again.

9. The great chancellor, presidents and councils, follow after, and after all, the nobility, men and women, with lighted candles. This procession lasts four hours from the time it goes out, till it comes into the church again. All the bells of the convents, and parishes ring all this time ; and if there were not so many idolatrous ceremonies in that procession, it

would be a great pleasure to see the streets so richly adorned with the best hangings, and the variety of persons in the procession.

The riches of that procession are incredible to a foreigner; but matters of fact (the truth of which may be inquired into) must be received by all serious people. I have spoken already of the rich custodia, which the Archbishop of Sevil gave to the cathedral, and of the rich chalice set in diamonds. Now besides these two things, we reckon thirty-three silver crosses belonging to convents, and parish churches, ten feet high, and about the thickness of a pole of a coach; thirty-three small crosses which the priests and friars, who officiate that day, carry in their hands; these crosses, though small, are richer than the big one; because, in the middle of the cross there is a relic, which is a piece of wood (as they say) of the cross, on which our Saviour was crucified, and which they call *holy wood*. This relic is set in precious stones, and many of them set in diamonds. Thirty-three sacerdotal cloaks to officiate in, made of Tusy d'or, edged with pearls, emeralds, rubies, and other rich stones. Sixty-six silver candlesticks, four feet high. A large gold possenet, and a gold handle in the hysop, six incensaries, four of them silver, and two of gold; four silver incense boxes, and two gold ones. Three hundred and eighty silver bodies of saints on their rich gilt pedestals, of which two hundred are whole

bodies, and the rest half, but many are gilt, and several wear mitres on their heads, embroidered with precious stones.

The image of St. Michael with the devil under his feet, and the image with wings, are of solid silver gilt all over.

With this magnificence they carry the sacrament through the principal streets of the city, and all the people that are in the balconies and lattice windows throw roses and other flowers upon the canopy of the sacrament as it goes by. When the procession is over, and the sacrament placed in the tabernacle, there is a stage before the altar to act a sacramental or divine comedy, which lasts about an hour, and this custom is practised also on Christmas eve. By these, may be known their bigotries, superstitions and idolatries.

Now I come to say something of the strange notions the priests and friars, confessors, and preachers put in the people's heads, concerning the host. First, they preach and charge the people to adore the sacrament, but never to touch the consecrated host or wafer, this being a crime against the Catholic faith, and that all such as dare to touch it, must be burned in the inquisition. Secondly, to believe that the real flesh and blood of Jesus Christ is in the Eucharist; and that, though they cannot see it, they ought to submit their understanding to the catholic faith. Thirdly, that if any one could lawfully touch

the host, or wafer, and prick it with a pin, blood would come out immediately, which they pretend to prove with many miracles, as that of the *corporales* of Daroca, which, as it comes *a propos*, I cannot pass by without giving an account of it.

Daroca is an ancient city of the kingdom of Aragon, which bordereth on Castilla. It is famous among the Spaniards for its situation and strength. and for the mine that is in a neighboring mountain. For the floods coming with impetuosity against the walls, and putting the city in great danger, the inhabitants dug three hundred yards from one end of the mount to the other, and made a subterranean passage, and the floods go that way, the city has ever since been free from danger. But it is yet more famous for what they call *corporales*. The story is this:—When the Moors invaded Spain, a curate near Daroca took all imaginable care to save the consecrated wafers, that were in the tabernacle, and not to see them profaned by the infidels, and open enemies of their faith. There were but five small hosts in all, which he put with the fine holland on which the priest puts the great host when he says mass: and this piece of holland is called corporales. The Moors were at that time near, and no body could make an escape, and the priest ready to loose his own life, rather than to see the host profaned, tied the corporales with the five wafers in it, on a blind mule, and whipped the beast out of

town, said, speed you well, for I am sure that the sacrament on your back will guide you to some place free from the enemies of our religion. The mule journeycd on; and the next day arrived at Daroca, and some people observed the corporales tied with the holy stola to the mule's belly, were surprised at so rare and unexpected a thing, and called a priest of the great parish church, he came to the mule, and examining the thing, found the five wafers converted into blood, and stamped on the holland cloth; which spots of blood, (or painting) of the bigness of a tenpenny piece, are preserved till this present time. Then the priest cried out a miracle, the clergy in great devotion and procession came with candles and a canopy, and taking the mule under it, went to the great church; and when the minister of the parish had taken the stola and corporales from off the mule, he went to place the corporales on the ara altaris, or the altar's table, but the mule not well pleased with it, left the company, and went up to the steeple or belfry: then the parish minister (though not so wise as the mule) followed the mule up stairs, and seeing the beast mark a place there with its mouth, he soon understood that the mule being blind, could neither go up, nor mark that place without being inspired from above: and having persuaded the people of the same, all agreed that there should be a little chapel built to keep the holy corporales. When this resolution was appro-

ved by the clergy and laity, the mule died on the steeple. At the same time the curate having made his escape, and by divine inspiration followed the mule's steps, came to Daroca, and telling the whole cause of his putting the sacrament on the mule to save it from profanation, both clergy and laity began to cry out 'a miracle from Heaven,' and immediately further agreed, that the mule should he embalmed and kept before the holy corporales in the steeple, *ad perpetuam Rei Memoriam: Item*, to make a mule of the best stone could be found, in honor of the mule, and that for the future his name should be the holy mule. All things being done accordingly, and the city never having been mastered by the moors (as the inhabitants say) they instituted a solemn festival, to which ever since the neighbours, even fourteen leagues distant, come every year. Those that go up to the steeple to see the holy miracle of the wafers converted into blood and the holy mule, must pay four reals of plate. The people of Daroca call it sometimes, *the holy mystery*, another time *the holy miracle; the sacrament of the mule* by some ignorants; *the holy sacrament on a mule* by the wise, &c. I myself took a journey to see this wonder of Daroca, and paying the fees, went up to have a full view of every thing; and really I saw a mule of stone, and a coffin wherein the embalmed mule was kept (as the clerk told me) but he did not open it, for the key is kept always at the Bishop's palace: I saw likewise the lin-

en, with five red spots in a little box of gilt silver, two candles always burning before it, and a glass lamp before the mule's coffin. At that time I believed every part of the story. All sorts of people believe, as an infallible truth, that every one's sight is preserved during life, in the same degree of strength and clearness it is in at the time they see these bloody spots, which is proved by many instances of old women, who by that means have excellent eyes to the last; and many other such incredible things, too numerous to be inserted in this work.

OF PURGATORY.

If we may believe the practices and doctrines of the Romish priests and friars, in relation to that imaginary place, Purgatory, it must indeed be of vast extent and almost infinite capacity. They say there are as many apartments in it, as conditions and ranks of people in the world among Roman Catholics.

The intenseness of the fire in purgatory is calculated by them to be eight degrees, and that of hell only four. But there is a great difference between these two fires, viz. that of Purgatory (though more intense, active, consuming and devouring) is but for a time, of which the souls may be freed by the suffrages of masses; but that of hell is forever. In both places they say, the souls are tormented, and deprived of the glorious sight of God, but the souls in purgatory (though they endure vastly more than those in hell) have certain hopes of seeing God at some future period.

Pope Adrian the third confessed that there was no mention of purgatory in scripture, or in the writings of the holy Fathers; but notwithstanding this, the council of Trent has settled the doctrine of purgatory without alledging any one passage of the holy scripture, and gave so much liberty to priests and friars by it, that they build in that firey palace,

apartments for kings, princes, grandees, noblemen, merchants, and tradesmen, for ladies of quality, for gentlemen and tradesmen's wives, and for poor common people. These are the 8 apartments, which answer to the eight degrees of *intensus ignus*, i. e. intense fire; and they make the people believe, that the poor people only endure the least degree; the second being greater, is for gentlewomen and tradesmen's wives, and so on to the eighth degree, which being the greatest of all, is reserved for kings. By this doctrine they get gradually masses from all sorts and conditions of people, in proportion to their greatness. But as the poor cannot give so many masses as the great, the lowest chamber of purgatory is always crowded with the reduced souls of those *unfortunately fortunate* people, for they say to them, that the providence of God has ordered every thing to the ease of his creatures, and that foreseeing that the poor people could not afford the same number of masses that the rich could, his infinite goodness had placed them in a place of less sufferings in purgatory.

But it is remarkable that many poor tradesmen's wives, desirous of honour in the next world, ask the friars, whether the souls of their fathers, mothers, or sisters, can be removed from the second apartment (reckoning from the lowest) to the third, thinking by it, that though the third degree of fire is greater than the second, yet the soul would be bet-

ter pleased in the company of ladies of quality ; but the worst is, that the friar makes such women believe, that he may do it very easily, if they give the same price for a mass, the ladies of quality give. I knew a shoemakers wife, very ignorant, proud, and full of punctillios of honor, who went to a Franciscan friar, and told him that she desired to know whether her own father's soul was in purgatory or not, and in what apartment. The friar asked her how many masses she could spare for it, she said two ; and the friar answered, your father's soul is among the beggars. Upon hearing this, the poor woman began to cry, and desired the friar to put him, if possible in the fourth apartment, and she would pay him for it. The quantam being settled, the friar promised to place him there the next day ; so the poor woman ever since gives out that her father was a rich merchant, for it was revealed to her, that his soul is among the merchants in Purgatory.

Now what can we say, but that the pope is the chief Governor of that vast place, and priests and friars the quarter-masters that billet the souls according to their own fancies, and have the power, and give for money the King's apartments to the soul of a shoemaker, and that of a lady of quality to her washer-woman.

But mind, reader, how chaste the friars are in procuring a separate place for ladies in purgatory ; they suit this doctrine to the temper of a people

whom they believe to be extremely jealous, and really not without ground for it, and so no soul of a woman can be placed among men.

Notwithstanding all the raileries thrown at them, of which the inquisitors cannot take notice, being not against the Catholic faith; priests and friars daily endeavour to prove that purgatory is a real existent place, and that by masses, the souls detained in it are daily delivered out of it. And this they prove by many revelations made to devout, pious people; and by apparitions.

They not only preach of them publicly, but books are printed of such revelations and apparitions.

In the latter end of King Charles the second's reign, a nun of Gaudalajara wrote a letter to his majesty, acquainting him that it was revealed to her, by an angel, that the soul of his father, Philip the IV. was still in purgatory, in the royal apartments, and likewise in the lowest chamber, with the said Philip's shoemaker, and that upon saying so many masses, both should be delivered out of it, and should go to enjoy the ravishing pleasures of an eternal life. The nun was reputed a saint upon earth, and the simple king gave orders to his confessor to say, or order so many masses to be said, for that purpose; after which, the said nun wrote again to his majesty, congratulating and wishing him joy for the arrival of his father to heaven; but

that the shoemaker, who was seven degrees lower than Philip in purgatory, was then seven degrees higher than his majesty in heaven, because of his better life on earth, but that all was forgiven him on account of the masses.

Again, they say from the pulpit, that the pope has absolute power to make the mass efficacious to deliver the soul out of that place; and that his holiness can take at once all the souls out of it; as Pius the Vth. did, (they report) who, when he was cardinal, was very devout, and a great procurer of the relief of souls, and who had promised them with a solemn oath, that, if by their prayers in purgatory, he should be chosen pope, then he would empty purgatory of all the souls at once. At last by the intercession of the souls with God Almighty, he was elected pope, and immediately he delivered all the souls out of that place; but that Jesus Christ was so angry with the new pope, that he appeared to him, and bade him not do any such thing again, for it was prejudicial to the whole clergy and friarship. That pope delivered all the souls out of purgatory, by opening the treasure of the church, in which were kept millions of masses, which the popes make use of to augment the riches of the holy see. But he took care not to do it again; for though *quodcunque solveritts in Terra, erit, solutum and in Cælis*, there is not specified the same power in purgatory, therefore ever since, the popes take no authority, nor liberty to sweep purgatory at once, for

it would prove their ruin, and reduce the clergy to poverty.

When some ignorant people pay for a mass, and are willing to know whether the soul, for which the mass is said, is, after the mass, delivered out of purgatory; the friar makes them believe, that it will appear in the figure of a mouse within the tabernacle of the altar, if it is not out of it, and then it is a sign that the soul wants more masses; and if the mouse does not appear, the soul is in heaven. So when the mass is over, he goes to the tabernacle backwards, where is a little door with a crystal, and lets the people look through it: But, O pitiful thing! they see a mouse which the friars keep, and so the poor sots give more money for more masses, till at length the mouse disappears.

The second day of November, is the day of the souls of purgatory, in which every priest and friar says three masses, for the delivery of so many souls out of the pains of it. From three of the clock of the first day of November (all saint's day) till three in afternoon, the next day, all the souls are out of purgatory, and entirely free from the pains of it; (those four and twenty hours being granted by his holiness for a refreshment to them) and that all that while they are in the air diverting themselves and expecting the relief of so many masses, to get by them into the celestial habitations. On that day only, priests and friars get more money than they

get in two months time beside; for every family, and private persons too, give yellow wax candles to the church, and money for masses and responsa, i. e. prayer for the dead.

When they preach a sermon of the souls, they make use of brimstone, and burn it in the pulpit, saying, that such flames are like those of the fire in purgatory. They make use of many pictures of the souls that are in the middle of devouring fire, lifting up their hands to heaven, as if they were crying for help and assistance. They prove their propositions with revelations and apparitions, for they cannot find in the scripture any passage to ground their audacious thoughts on, and such sermons are to the people of sense better diversion than a comedy.

I went to hear an old friar, who had the name of being an excellent preacher, upon the subject of the souls in purgatory, and he took his text out of the twenty-first chapter of the Apoc. 27th verse. "And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination;" by which he settled the belief of a purgatory, proving by some romantic authority, that such a passage ought to be understood of purgatory, and his chief authority was, because a famous interpreter, or expositor, renders the text thus: There shall not enter into it (meaning heaven) any thing which is not proved by the fire, as silver

is purified by it. When he had proved this text he came to divide it, and which he did under these three heads: 1st, that the souls suffer in purgatory three sorts of torments, of which the first was fire, and that greater than the fire of hell. 2dly, to be deprived of the face of God: And 3dly, which was the greatest of all torments, to see their relations and friends on earth diverting themselves, and taking so little care to relieve them out of those terrible pains. The preacher spoke very little of the two first points, but he insisted upon the third a long hour, taxing the people of ingratitude and inhumanity; and that if it was possible for any of the living to experience, only for a moment, that devouring flame of purgatory, certainly he would come again, and sell whatever he had in the world, and give it for masses: and what a pity it is (said he) to know that the souls of many of my hearers' relations are there, and none of them endeavouring to relieve them from that place.

He went on and said: I have a catalogue of the souls, which, by revelation and apparition, we are sure are in purgatory; for in the first place, the soul of such a one (naming the soul of a rich merchant's father) appeared the other night to a godly person, in the figure of a pig, and the devout person, knowing that the door of his chamber was locked up, began to sprinkle the pig with holy water, and conjuring him, bade him speak and tell him what he wan-

ted? And the pig said, I am the soul of such an one, and I have been in purgatory these ten years for want of help. When I left the world, I forgot to tell my confessor where I left 1000 pistoles, which I had reserved for masses; my son found them out, and he is such an unnatural child, that he doth not remember my pitiful condition; and now by the permission of heaven I come to you, and command you to discover this case to the first preacher you meet; that he may publish it, and tell my son, that if he doth not give that money for masses for my relief, I shall be forever in purgatory, and his soul shall certainly go to hell.

The credulous merchant, terrified with this story, beleiving every title of it, got up before all the people and went into the vestry, and when the friar had finished, he begged of him to go along with him to his house, where he should receive the money, which he did accordingly, for fear of a second thought; and the merchant gave freely the 1000 pistoles, for fear that his father's soul should be kept in purgatory and he himself go to hell.

And besides these cheats and tricks they make use of themselves to exact money, they have their solicitors and agents, that go from one house to another, telling stories of apparitions, and revelations, and these are they which we call Beatas and Devotas; for as their modesty in apparel, their hypocritical air, and daily exercises of

confessing and receiving is well known in the world, the common people have so good an opinion of them, that they believe, as an article of faith, whatever stories they tell, without further inquiry into the matter: So those cunning disguised devils, (or worse,) instructed by the friar their confessor, go and spread abroad many of these apparitions, by which they get a great deal of money for masses, which they give to the father confessor.

Nay, of late, the old nuns, those that, to their grief, the world despises, have undertaken the trade of publishing revelations and apparitions of souls in purgatory, and give out that such a soul is, and shall be in it, until the father, mother, or sister, go to such a friar and give him so many masses, which he is to say himself and no other. And the case is, that by agreement between the old skeleton, and the covetous father, he is to give her one third of all the masses that he receives by her means and application. So you see the nature of this place of purgatory, the apartments in it, the degrees of the fire of it, the means the priests and friars make use of to keep in repair that profitable palace; and above all, the stupidity and blindness of the people to believe such dreams as matters of fact. What now can the Roman Catholics say for themselves? Probably that I am a deceiver and an impostor. The Jews said of our Saviour, some that he was a good man; others said, nay but he deceiveth the people,

when he was telling the truth. I shall not therefore be surprised at any calumnies dispersed by them; for I say before God and the world, that I have written the truth.

I could have related, in the course of this work, deeds, transacted by the priesthood, more horrid than the imagination could possibly picture. But a sense of modesty has obliged me to withhold them.

To shew what reliance may be placed upon that which I have thought proper to narrate, I will state the following circumstance. A lady of distinction, coming in possession of a copy of my book, was not disposed to give full credence to its authenticity, without a test. For that purpose she placed it in the hands of a learned priest, of the Roman Catholic order, with a request that he would correct such parts of it as he might find erroneous, or untrue. But the book was eventually returned with but five passages marked, and those of trifling consequence.

How long these tygers, in human form will be permitted to prowl upon the earth, "seeking whom they may devour," is not given to us to know. But the time must come, when the vengeance of Almighty God will rest upon them in terrible justice: When he will thoroughly purge his church, and sweep from its altars the doers of iniquity, with the besom of destruction.

A

SKETCH OF THE LIVES

OF THE

POPES OF ROME,

AND THEIR SUCCESSION.

I. St. Peter, was crucified at Rome, with his head downwards, and was buried near the Vatican, in the Aurelian way, not far from the gardens of Nero, having sat (saith Platina) in that see, twenty-five years. He, together with the apostle Paul, was put to death in the last year of Nero's reign, A. D. 67, and was succeeded by

II. Linus, by nation a Tuscan, who continued from the last year of Nero, to the times of Vespasian, the emperor, and was martyred by Saturninus, the consul, A. D. 78. He sat 11 years.

III. Cletus, (or Anacletus) a Roman: he was martyred under Domitian, A. D. 91, and his body laid in the Vatican, near to that of St. Peter, after he had sat 12 years, 1 month, and 11 days.

IV. Clement, a Roman, a modest and holy man; he was thrown into the sea with an anchor tied about his neck, in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100, having sat 9 years, 2 months and 10 days.

V. Euaristus, a Grecian: he ordained that the people's accusation should not be received against a bishop. He sat 8 years, 10 months and 2 days, and died, A. D. 108.

VI. Alexander, the first, a Roman, young in years, but old in his composed manners: he ordered that holy water, mixed with salt should be used; and that water mixed with wine, should be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. He sat 8 years, 7 months, and 2 days, and died, A. D. 116.

VII. Sixtus, the first a Roman, ordered that holy things and vessels, should be touched by none but ministers; and that priests should minister in linen surplices. He was buried in the Vatican, A. D. 126, having sat 10 years, 3 months, and 21 days.

VIII. Telesphorus, a Grecian, instituted the Lent of seven weeks before Easter, and the celebration of the masses in the night of our Saviour's birth. He sat 7 years, 3 months, and 22 days, and died, A. D. 137.

IX. Hyginus, a Grecian of Athens : he ordained that one god-father or god-mother, at least, should be present at the baptism of a child. He sat 4 years, 3 months, and 4 days, and died, A. D. 141.

X. Pius, the first, an Italian : he ordained that none of the Jewish heresy should be received to baptism ; that the feast of the passover should be on Sunday. He sat 16 years, 4 months and 3 days, and died, A. D. 157.

XI. Anicetus, a Syrian, was crowned with martyrdom, A. D. 168, and buried in the church-yard of Calistus, in the Appian way, having sat 11 years, 4 months and 3 days.

XII. Sorter, a Campanian, sat 9 years, 3 months, and 21 days ; died, A. D. 177.

XIII. Elutherius, a Grecian, of Nicopolis : he sent Fugatius and Damianus into Britain, at the request of king Lucius, to baptize him and his people. He sat 15 years, 3 months, and 2 days, and died, A. D. 192.

XIV. Victor, the first, an African : in his time was the controversy about the keeping of Easter. He sat 9 years, 3 months, and 10 days.

XV. Zephyrinus, a Roman succeeded him, A. D. 201. He ordained that wine in the sacrament should be consecrated in a vessel of glass, and not of wood as before. He sat 18 years, 7 months and 10 days.

XVI. Calistus, the first, succeeded Zephyrinus, A. D. 219, a native of Ravenna, ordained a three-fold fast in the year, in the fourth, seventh, and tenth months, beginning the year as the Jews do. He sat 5 years, 10 months, and 10 days.

XVII. Urbanus, the first, a Roman, ordained that churches should receive farms and lands, given by devout persons, and the revenues to be parted among the clergy. He was martyred, A. D. 231, having sat 6 years, 10 months and 12 days.

XVIII. Pontianus a Roman, was banished into Sardinia, where he suffered great torments for the faith of Jesus Christ, and died, A. D. 235, having sat 4 years, 5 months, and 2 days.

XIX. Anteras, a Grecian : he ordered that the noble acts of the martyrs should be recorded, and kept in the treasury of the church. He was martyred, A. D.236, having sat only 1 month and 12 days.

XX. Fabianus, a Roman : he ordained that the chrism in the Lord's supper should be renewed every year, and the old one burnt in the church. He was martyred, A. D. 250, having sat 14 years 11 months, and 11 days. After him was a vacancy of 18 months.

XXI. Cornelius, a Roman, obtained the see, A. D. 251. He was banished and then beheaded, having sat 2 years, 2 months, and 3 days

XXI. Lucius, the first, a Roman, succeeded, A. D. 253, and was martyred ; having sat 2 years, 3months, and 3 days.

XXIII. Stephanus the first, a Roman ; a controversy fell out between him and St Cyprian, concerning the re-baptising of those baptised by heretics, which Cyprian would not allow, but Stephanus was strenuous for. He was beheaded, A. D. 257 ; having sat 2 years, 5 months, and 2 days.

XXIV. Sixtus, the second, an Athenian : while he endeavoured to refute and extinguish the Chiliasts, was taken, accused, and martyred, A. D. 259. He sat 2 years, 10 months, and 23 days.

XXV. Dionysius, withstood to his power the pride and heresy of Paulus Samosatinus. He is said to have converted the wife and daughter of the emperor Decius. He died, A. D. 271, having sat 12 years, 2 months, and 4 days.

XXVI. Fœlix, the first : he appointed yearly sacrifices in memory of the martyrs ; that no mass should be said, but by sacred persons, and in consecrated places, except upon pressing necessity. He died a martyr, A. D. 275, and sat 4 years, 3 months, and fifteen days.

XXVII. Eutychianus, a Tuscan : he is reported to have buried with his own hands, three hundred and forty-two martyrs, and to have blest grapes and beans and such like upon the altar, and would have the martyrs buried in purple. He was martyred, A. D. 283, having sat 9 years, 1 month and 1 day.

XXVIII. Caius, of Dalmatia, was a kinsman to Dioclesian the emperor : his brother Gabinus had a daughter called Susanna, who should have married the emperor Galerius ; but all these were martyred. Caius sat 13 years 4 months, and 11 days : he died, A. D. 296.

XXIX. Marcellinus, a Roman, out of fear, offered incense to Mars, for which he was questioned by the council of Sinuesa, but no man condemned him. Repenting his fear, he reproached the tyrant to his face, and was martyred, A. D. 304. He sat 8 years, 2 months, and 16 days.

XXX. Marcellus the first, a Roman : Maxentius was incensed against him, because Lucina, a noble matron, had made the church her heir, hereupon the holy man was doomed to keep beasts in a stable, and was choaked by the stench and filth, A. D. 309. He sat 5 years, 6 months and 21 days.

XXXI. Eusebius, a Grecian : (his father a physician) the cross of Christ was found in his time, by Judas, a Jew, and adorned and honored by Helena, the mother of Constantine. He died, A. D. 311, having sat 2 years, 1 month, and 3 days.

XXXII. Melchiades, an African : Constantine gave him the house of Plautinus Lateranus, proscribed by Nero, which hath continued to this day by the name of the Lateran palace. He died, A. D. 314, having sat 3 years, 7 months, and 9 days.

XXXIII. Sylvester, the first, a Roman, is said to have baptised Constantine the emperor, others say it was done by Eusebius of

Nicodemia. Constantine appoined this man to wear a crown of gold. He sat 22 years, 10 months, and 11 days, and died, A. D. 336.

XXXIV. Marcus, the first, a Roman, brought in the singing of the Nicene creed, and the giving of the pall to the bishop of Ostia. He sat 8 months and 20 days.

XXXV. Julius, the first, a Roman: Athanasius made his creed in his time at Rome, which was then approved by Julius and his clergy. He ordained prothonotaries to register the acts of the church. He sat 16 years, 2 months, and 6 days, and died, A. D. 352.

XXXVI. Liberius, the first, a Roman, either through fear or ambition, subscribed to Arianism and Athenasius' condemnation; but recovered himself, and sat 15 years, 3 months, and 4 days, and died, A. D. 367.

XXXVII. Fœlix, the second, a Roman, was intruded on the see, by order of the emperor Constantius, during the exile of Liberius, in 355. Fœlix condescended to communicate with the Arians, though he was none of them; but afterwards in a tumult, A. D. 358, he was driven away by them, and Liberius re-instated. He died, A. D. 375.

XXXVIII. Damasus, the first, a Spaniard, succeeded Liberius, A. D. 367. He accursed usurers, and appointed Gloria Patri, &c. to close up every psalm. He sat 18 years, 3 months, and 11 days, and died, A. D. 385.

XXXIX. Syricus, the first, a Roman: he excluded them that were twice married, and admitted monks into holy orders. In his time the temple of Scrapis was demolished and the idol broken. He sat 13 years, 11 months, and 25 days, and died, A. D. 398.

XL. Anastasius, the first, a Roman; he was careful to repress the errors of Origen, and was the first that brought in the standing up at the reading of the gospel. He sat 4 years and 10 days, and died, A. D. 402.

XLI. Innocentius, the first, an Alban, a great stickler against the Pelagians: in his time, Alaricus plundered Rome: Innocentius being then at Ravenna. He sat 15 years, 2 months, and 25 days, and died, A. D. 417.

XLII. Zozemus, brought the use of tapers into the church, forbade priests to drink in public, or servants to be admitted into the priesthood. He sat 1 year, 3 months, and 12 days, and died, A. D. 418.

XLIII. Bonifacius, the first, a Roman, the son of Jocundus, a priest; he was chosen in a tumult and sedition of the clergy; was opposed by Eulalius, the deacon, but at last carried it against him. He sat 5 years, 8 months, and 7 days.

XLIV. Cœlestinus, the first, a Campanian: he sent Germanus and Lupus into England, Paladius into Scotland, and Patrick

into Ireland. He first caused the psalms to besung in Antiphony. He sat 9 years and 10 months, and died, A. D. 432.

XLV. Sixtus, the third; he was accused by one Bassus for seducing a nun, but was acquitted by the synod, and his accuser sent into exile. He built much, and therefore had the title of enricher of the church. He sat 8 years and died, A. D. 440.

XLVI. Leo, the first, dissuaded Attila from sacking Rome, Peter and Paul terrifying the Hun, while Leo spake to him. In his time, the Venetians settled themselves in the gulph, now so famous. He sat 21 years, 1 month, and 13 days, and died, A. D. 461.

XLVII. Hilarius, the first: in his time was the rectifying of the golden number, by Victorinus of Aquitain, and the bringing in of the Litany, by Mamerius Claudius, of Vienna. He sat 6 years, 3 months, and 10 days, and died, A. D. 467.

XLVIII. Simplicius, the first, a Tiburtine: he took upon himself the jurisdiction of the church of Ravenna; decreed that none of the clergy should hold the benefice of a layman. He sat 16 years, 1 month, and 7 days, and died, A. D. 483.

XLIX. Felix, the third, son of a Roman priest, decreed that no church should be consecrated but by a bishop; opposed the proposal of union by the emperor Zeno, to the great confusion of the Eastern and Western churches; sat 9 years, and died, A. D. 492.

L. Gelasius, the first, an African, ordered the canon of scripture, branding as counterfeit books, some that before passed for canonical or authentic; banished the Manichees, and burned their books. He sat 4 years, 8 months, and 17 days, and died, A. D. 496.

LI. Anastasius, the second, a Roman, excominunicated Anastasius the Greek emperor, for favouring the heretic Acatius, whose heresy he afterwards himself favoured. He sat 1 year, 10 months, and 24 days, and died, A. D. 498.

LII. Symmachus, the first, a Sardinian, succeeded in opposition to Laurentius: he was a lover of the poor, and bountiful to the exiled bishops and clergy He sat 16 years, 6 months, and 22 days, and died, A. D. 514.

LIII. Hormisdas, the first; the emperor Justinius sent him his ambassadors with the confirmation of the authority of the apostolic see. He condemned the Eutychians in a provincial synod; sat 9 years and 18 days, and died, A. D. 523.

LIV. Johannes, the first, a Tuscan, a man of great learning and piety; was cast into prison by Theodoric, and there killed by the stench and filth of it, A. D. 526. He sat 3 years, and 8 months.

LV. Fœlix, the fourth, a Samnite, excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople; divided the chancel from the church; commanded extreme unction to be used to dying men. He sat 4 years, 2 months, and 13 days, and died, A. D. 530.

LVI. Bonifacius the second, a Roman, decreed that no bishop should choose his successor; and that no pope (if it might be) should be chosen within three days after his predecessor's death. He sat 2 years and 2 days, and died, A. D. 532.

LVII. Johannes, the second, a Roman, condemned Anthemius, the patriarch of Constantinople; was surnamed Mercury for his eloquence. He sat 3 years, and 4 months, and died, A. D, 535.

LVIII. Agapetus, the first, a Roman: sent ambassador, by king Theodatus, to pacify Justinian the emperor, for the death of the noble and learned queen Amalasuntha. He sat 11 months and 19 days, and died, A. D. 536.

LIX. Sylverius, a Campanian; was deposed by the empress, for refusing to put out Menna and restore Anthemius, her favourite. He died in exile, A. D. 540, having sat 1 year, 5 months, and 12 days; and his death was in the third year of his exile; in the isle of Calmaria.

LX. Virgilius, the first, was made pope by the empress and Belisarius, during the life of Sylverius; but for breach of promise, to the empress, was brought to Constantinople, there, with a halter about his neck, drawn about the streets and banished, by Justinian; but soon after he was recalled to Rome; and died on his journey to Syracuse, A. D. 555 He sat 15 years, 7 months, and 20 days, after the death of Sylverius.

LXI. Pelagius, the first, ordained that heretics and schismatics should be punished with temporal death; and that no man, for money, should be admitted into orders. He sat 4 years, 10 months, and 28 days, and died, A. D. 559.

LXII. Johannes, the third; in his time the Armenians received the faith of Christ. He was settled in his chair by Narses; and sat 13 years, 11 months, and 26 days, and died, A. D. 573.

LXIII. Benedictus, the first, a Roman; in his time the Lombards foraged Italy; the grief of this, and other calamities in Italy, occasioned the death of this pope, A. D. 577. He sat 4 years, 1 month, and 28 days.

LXIV. Pelagius, the second, a Roman; was made pope during the seige of the city by the Lombards, without the emperor's consent, which election he sent Gregory to excuse. He sat 13 years, 2 months, and 10 days, and died, A. D. 590.

LXV. Gregorius, the first, surnamed the Great, called himself Servus Servorum Dei; sent Austin into England to convert the Eastern Saxons; and withstood the claim of Universal bishop, or Head of the church. He sat 13 years, 5 months, and 10 days, and died, A. D. 604.

LXVI. Sabinianus, the first, the last of the Roman Bishops, who declined that arrogant title, of Universal bishop, or Head of the church; he opposed all that Gregory had done; distinguished the hours of offices; sat 1 year, 5 months, and 9 days, and died, A. D. 606.

LXVII. Bonifacius, the third: obtained of Phocas, the murderer

of his lord, that popish supremacy which to this day is so much stood upon; and volumus and jubemus to be the style used by this priest. He enjoyed his pomp but a short time; for he sat but 9 months, dying in November, 606.

LXVII. Bonafacius, the fourth: he instituted All-hallow-day; dedicated the temple of Pantheon to the Virgin Mary; made his father's house a monastery, and died, A. D. 614; having sat 7 years, 8 months, and 13 days.

LXIX. Deus Dedit, the first, a Roman: he loved and enriched the clergy; is said to have cured a leper with a kiss. He died, having sat only 3 years and 23 days, A. D. 617.

LXX. Bonifacius, the fifth, a Campanian: he privileged murderers and thieves that took sanctuary in the churches, and decreed that the hands of justice should not pluck them thence. He died, A. D. 625; having sat 8 years and 10 days. After his death was a vacancy for one year.

LXXI. Honorius, the first: he covered the church of saint Peter with the brazen tiles taken from the capitol. He also instituted the feast of the exaltation of the cross, and died, A. D. 639; having sat 12 years, 11 months, and 17 days.

LXXII. Severinus, the first, a Roman; in his time Isaacius, the exarch of Italy, took away the Lateran treasure, to pay his soldiers, for which the pope dared not excommunicate him: he sat 2 months only.

LXXIII. Johannes, the fourth, a Dalmatian; with the remainder of the treasure redeemed some exiles of his countrymen; he busied himself about the celebration of Easter, and translation of the bones of martyrs; sat upwards of 2 years, and died, A. D. 641.

LXXIV. Theodorus, the first, a Grecian, son to the bishop of Jerusalem; he deprived Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, for the heresy of the Acephali: he died, A. D. 649, having sat 8 years, 5 months, and 18 days.

LXXV. Martinus, the first, an Italian; ordained priests to shave their polls and keep themselves single; he excommunicated Paulus, patriarch of Constantinople, for which he was banished into Pontus, where he died, A. D. 655. Ae sat 6 years, 1 month, and 26 days.

LXXVI. Eugenius, was less active and sped better; he ordained that bishops should have prisons for their priests, to repress their over-boldness. He sat only 6 months: died, A. D. 655.

LXXVII. Vitalianus, the first, brought the first organ into the divine service of the church of Rome; he excommunicated Jarus, the archbishop of Ravenna. Theodorus and Adrian were sent by him into England to introduce the Latin service. He sat 14 years and 6 months; and died, A. D. 669.

LXXVIII. Adeodatus, the first, was formerly a monk: earthquakes, comets, and tempests, such as never were before, did

amaze men in his time. He died, A. D. 676; having sat 7 years, 2 months, and 5 days.

LXXIX. Domnus, the first, had the church of Ravenna subjected to him, by Theodorus the archbishop, which before that time had pretended equality with that of Rome. He adorned the church porch of saint Peter with marble; sat two years, and died, A. D. 678.

LXXX. Agato, the first, a Sicilian; ordained that the pope's sanctions should be as firmly kept as those of the apostles. He sent John, abbot of St. Martins, into England, to have our church service in tune, and with other superstitious injunctions. He is said to have died of the plague; sat 5 years, 6 months, and 15 days, and died, A. D. 683.

LXXXI. Leo, the second, a Sicilian, skilled in Greek, Latin, and music: he ratified the sixth synod to confirm the mass, and restrain the western priests' marriages; and brought in the kissing of the slipper. He sat only 10 months.

LXXXII. Benedictus, the second, a Roman: he got to be first styled Vicar of Christ, and that the popes should be freely elected by the clergy, without the consent of the exarchs or emperors: this pope (as his predecessor) sat but 10 months.

LXXXIII. Johannes, the fifth, a Syrian, was consecrated by the three bishops of Ostium, Portus and Valiturnum. He died in the first year of his popedom, the manner of his consecration being observed by his successors.

LXXXIV. Conon, the first, a Thracian, sent saint Killian, the Scot, and some others, to convert some places in Germany, where they were martyred. He sickened upon his election, sat only 11 months, and died, A. D. 686.

LXXXV. Sergius, the first, a Syrian; for refusing to receive the canons of Trullo, was sent for by the emperor, but rescued by the Italians. He was taxed with adultery: sat 14 years, 8 months, and died, A. D. 700.

LXXXVI. Johannes the sixth, a Grecian: some say that he was famous for feeding the poor in a great famine, and that he died a martyr. He sat 4 years, 3 months, and died, A. D. 705.

LXXXVII. Johannes, the seventh; sat 3 years, 7 months, and 17 days; and died, A. D. 708.

LXXXVIII. Sisemus, the first: this man had the gout, both in his hands and feet; he left provisions and materials for the city walls and temples. He sat but 3 weeks: it is suspected he had foul play.

LXXXIX. Constantius, the first: going to Constantinople, Justinian, the second, kissed his feet in sign of honour, which the ambitious succeeding popes drew, first into example, then into custom as it now continueth. He sat 6 years and 20 days, and died, A. D. 714.

XC. Georgius the second, a Roman: excommunicated Leo Isaurus, the emperor, for standing against images; forced Luit-

prandus, king of Italy, to confirm the donations of his predecessor Aritupest. He sat 7 years, 9 months, and died, A. D. 731.

XCI. Gregorius, the third, a Syrian; espoused the quarrel about images; excommunicated the emperor; drove the Greeks out of Italy by the Lombards, and afterwards checked the Lombards by the assistance of the French under the conduct of Charles Martell. He sat ten years: died, A. D. 741.

XCII. Zacharius, the first, a Grecian, deposed Childerick, king of France, and by the same high hand, turned Raches, king of Lombardy, and Caroloman, of France, from their thrones to be monks He held the chair for 10 years and 3 months, and died, A. D. 751.

XCIII. Stephanus, the second, a Roman; he excited Pepin, of France, to turn Astolphus out of Lombardy, and bestow it on the pope, for freeing him of his oath; for this success he was the first that was carried on men's shoulders. He sat 5 years and 1 month; died A. D. 576.

XCIV. Paulus, the first, a Roman, and brother of Stephen; excommunicated Constantine Copronipus, the emperor, upon the old quarrel; he was an honourer of saint Petronella, the daughter of saint Peter. He sat 10 years and 1 month, and died, A. D. 766.

XCV. Stephanus, the third, a Sicilian: he brought in the worshiping and censing of images, and subjected Milan to his see. He sat 5 years and 5 months: died, A. D. 772.

XCVI. Adrianus, the first: this pope having done Charles the Great a piece of service, he, to reward him, confirmed the gift of his father to the Roman see; adding the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento unto it: perhaps they call this Constantine's donation. He sat 23 yrs. 10 months, and died, A. D. 795.

LCVII. Leo, the third, to get the favor of Charles the Great, prostituted his keys and the Roman liberties at his feet, for which the Romans plucked him from his horse and whipped him; Charles coming to Rome to protect the pope, is pronounced emperor. He sat 21 years, and died, A. D. 816.

XCVIII. Stephanus, the fourth, decreed it should be in the power of the clergy to elect the pope, but not to consecrate him, only in the presence of the emperor's ambassador. He sat but 6 months and some days.

XCIX. Paschal, the first, caused certain parish priests to be called cardinals; they are companions for kings, and are in number about 70, but more or less at the pleasure of the popes. He sat 7 years and 3 months, and died, A. D. 724.

C. Eugenius, the second, took the authorities in the territories of the church, to create dukes, earls, and knights, as the exarchs of Ravenna used to do. He was called "the father of the poor," and sat 3 years. Died, A. D. 827.

CI. Valentinius, the first, was a man too good to hold the chair long; great were his accomplishments, and exemplary his life;

but he was soon gone, for he died on the 40th day after his election.

CII. Gregorius, the fourth: in his time the luxury of the clergy was very great, against which a synod was held at Aquisgrave. This pope sat almost 18 years, and died, A. D. 844.

CIII. Sergius, the second, was the first that changed his disgraceful name, Bocca di Porca, or swine's mouth, into Sergius; which precedent his successors have since followed, at their creation changing their names. He died, A. D. 847.

CIV. Leo, the fourth, a Roman monk: he compassed the Vatican with a wall; gave a dispensation to Ethelwolfe to leave his monastery, and reign in England; for which he gratified his holiness with yearly Peter-pence. He sat 7 years, 3 months, and 6 days, and died, A. D. 854.

CV. Joan, is by most confessed to be a woman, and is usually called pope Joan. To avoid this like disgrace, the porphyry chair was ordained. She died in child-birth in going to the Lateran, A. D. 854; having sat only a few months.

CVI. Benedictus, the third, a Roman, was withstood by one Anastasius, but to no purpose. He made a shew of great humility, and therefore would not be buried in, but without the threshold of St. Peter's church. He sat 3 years, 6 months, and 9 days, and died A. D. 858.

CVII. Nicholaus, the first, was the first that prohibited by law marriage to the Roman clergy. He deprived John of Ravenna, for not stooping to him. He sat 9 years, 9 months, and 13 days, and died, A. D. 868.

CVIII. Adrianus, the second: the emperor's ambassador excepted against his election, but had a delusive answer. The emperor Lotharius came to Rome to receive absolution of him, which has been much insisted upon. He sat upwards of five years, and died, A. D. 874.

CIX. Johannes, the eighth, crowned three emperors, Charles the Bald, Charles the Gross, and Lewis. He held a council at Trecas, drove the Saracens out of Italy and Sicily, and died, A. D. 882; having sat 10 years and 2 days, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CX. Martinus, the second, a Frenchman: died, A. D. 884; having sat only 1 year and 5 months.

CXI. Adrianus, the third, ordained that the election, or confirmation of the pope should no longer depend on the emperor, but, that it should be left wholly to the Roman clergy. He died in the second month of his popedom, A. D. 885.

CXII. Stephanus, the fifth, a Roman: he abrogated the purging of adultery and witchcraft, by going over burning coals, and casting the suspected into water. He died, A. D. 891; having sat 6 years and 11 days.

CXIII. Formosus, the first, was so hated, that pope Stephen, the sixth, caused his body to be unburied, all his acts reversed, two

of his fingers to be cut off, and then buried among the laity. Sergius, the third, took him up again, caused his head to be cut off, and the body to be thrown into the Tyber. He died the 6th month of his 6th year, A. D. 897.

CXIV. Bonifacius, the sixth, a Tuscan, is inserted in the catalogue only because he was rightly elected. He died upon the 26th day after his election.

CXV. Stephanus, the sixth, a Roman, abrogated all the acts of Formosus, his predecessor: which afterwards became customary, from his example, the following popes infringing, if not fully cancelling, all the acts of their immediate predecessors; this pope died, A. D. 901; the 3d year of his popedom.

CXVI. Romanus, the first, a Roman, made void all the decrees and acts of Stephanus that was before him. He died in the 3d month of his popedom.

CXVII. Theodorus the second, a Roman, restored the acts of Formosus, and his followers were in great esteem with him. In his time the Saracens broke into Apulia, and made great spoil; but was repelled by the Italians. The pope died, A. D. 901; having sat in his chair only twenty days.

CXVIII. Johannes, the ninth, a Roman, restored the acts of Formosus; and being therein opposed by the people, he fled to Ravenna, summoned a council of seventy-four bishops, who restored the acts of Formosus, and rescinded those of Stephen. He died, A. D. 904, having sat 3 years.

CXIX Benedictus, the fourth, a Roman, for his humanity and clemency was created pope. Platina says, that in a bad time he preserved much gravity and constancy in his life, and died, A. D. 905, a few months after obtaining his chair.

CXX. Leo, the fifth, historians give no account of his country: he was made prisoner by his familiar friend, Christopher, and thereupon is thought to have died of grief, upon the 40th day after receiving the popedom.

CXXI. Christophorus, the first, was so base that his country was not known: having obtained the chair by evil arts, he soon lost it—was thrust into a monastery, the then only refuge for the miserable; and this, in the 7th month of his usurpation of the seat whereof he had deprived his friend.

CXXII. Sergius, the third, ordained the bearing of candles at the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, from thence called candlemass-day: he imprisoned Christopher, rescinded the acts of Formosus, and died, A. D. 909, having sat 3 years and 4 months.

CXXIII. Anastasius, the third, a Roman, affixed no mark of ignominy upon any of his predecessors, and lived himself with that modesty and integrity, that there was nothing to be reproached in him. He died in the 3d year of his popedom, A. D. 912.

CXXIV. Landus, the first, a Roman, his life is so obscure that

some will not allow him a place among the popes. Nothing is said of him but that he died in the 6th month, on the 21st day of it, and was buried in St. Peter's, A. D. 912.

CXXV. Johannes, the tenth, the bastard of pope Sergius, overthrew the Saracens. In a sedition he was taken and put in bonds, where he was stifled by a pillow, A. D. 928: having sat 15 years, 2 months, and 3 days.

CXXVI. Leo, the 6th, a Roman, a modest and honest man: he took care of the service of God, as much as the corruption of that time would admit of. He died, A. D. 928; having sat but till the 15th day of his 7th month, much lamented by the Romans.

CXXVII. Stephanus, the seventh, a Roman; in his time Sperencus, duke of Bohemia, received the christian faith. The pope himself was a man of much meekness and religion: he died, A. D. 931, having sat 2 years, 1 month, and 12 days.

CXXVIII. Johannes, the eleventh, a wicked, cruel, and libidinous man; was taken in adultery, and slain, by the husband of the woman, A. D 936. He was supposed to have poisoned two hundred persons, among whom were Leo and Stephen, his predecessors. He sat 4 years and 10 months.

CXXIX. Leo, the seventh, a Roman: in his time, Boson, bishop of Placentia, Theobald, bishop of Milan, and another great prelate, were all bastards of king Hugh, by his concubines, Resola, Rosa, and Stephana. He sat 3 years, 6 months and 10 days, and died, A. D. 939.

CXXX. Stephanus, the eighth, a German; vexed with seditions, and in them so deformed with wounds, that he was ashamed to be seen in public. He died in the 4th year of his papacy, A. D. 943.

CXXXI. Martinus, the third, a Roman, a man of peace and piety, rebuilt ruinous churches, and gave great alms to the poor. He died in the 4th year of his papacy, A. D. 946.

CXXXII. Agapetus, the second, a Roman: in his time the Hungarians broke into Italy, and were overcome, in two set battles by Henry, duke of Bavaria. This pope was a man of great innocence, and died in the 10th year of his papacy, A. D. 955.

CXXXIII. Johannes, the twelfth, a man, from his youth, polluted with all kinds of villany and dishonesty; he was deposed by Otho, in a council, and slain in the act of adultery, A. D. 964, in the 9th year of his papacy.

CXXXIV. Leo the eighth, crowned Otho emperor: he remitted unto him the right of choosing the popes, which had been for some time in the hands of the clergy and people, for which was ratified unto the papacy, Constantine's (or rather Pepin's) donation.—He died in his first year, A. D. 964.

CXXXV. Benedictus, the fifth, a Roman, from a deacon, advanced to the papacy; but the emperor did not approve of the election, he therefore took the pope with him into Germany,

who died of grief, at Hamburg, his place of banishment, A. D. 964, having sat only 6 months and 5 days.

CXXXVI. Johannes, the thirteenth, bishop of Narnia, was also wearied with seditions, and imprisoned, but freed by the emperor Otho. In his time bells began to be baptised, and had names given them. He died in his 8th year, A. D. 972.

CXXXVII. Donus, the second, a man of great modesty: he died in the 1st yr. of his papacy, and was buried in St. Peter's A.D. 972.

CXXXVIII. Benedictus, the 6th, a Roman, first imprisoned, and then strangled in the castle of St. Angelo, by Centius, a powerful citizen, A.D. 975. Platina fears Benedict deserved all he suffered, because none stirred in his quarrel. He died in his 2d yr.

CXXXIX. Bonifacius, the seventh; the citizens opposed him, he therefore stole the church ornaments and treasure, and fled to Constantinople: he afterwards returned, and recovered his place, but soon after died of an apoplexy, A. D. 974, having sat only 7 months and 5 days.

CXL. Benedictus, the seventh, a Roman, he turned out Gilbert, the conjuror, from the archbishoprick of Rheims, and restored Arnulphus. "He was a good man, (saith Platina) and died, A. D 984, in his 10th year."

CXLI. Johannes the fourteenth, was taken by the Romans, and imprisoned by Ferrucius, the father of Boniface. He died in his 3d month, with famine, grief of mind, and the filth of his prison, A. D. 984.

CXLII. Johannes, the 15th, a hater of the clergy, and hated by them; he was all for enriching his kindred. He died in his 8th month, saith Platina: by others he is supposed to have died before his ordination, and omitted in the catalogue of the popes.

CXLIII. Johannes, the sixteenth, reputed a great scholar: he was driven from Rome into Hetruria, by Cresentius, the Roman consul, but he submitting himself, John returned. He died, A. D. 996, in the 11th year of his papacy.

CXLIV. Gregorius, the fifth, projected the election of the future emperors by the princes of Germany, by which the Germans were distracted into factions, and the Romans weakened, by this means the popes were ultimately exalted above kings or emperors. He sat 3 years, and died, A. D. 999.

CXLV. Sylvester, the second, a Frenchman, first called Gerbetus, a magician. He is said to have contracted with the devil for the papacy, of which he afterwards repented. He died, having sat 3 years and 10 days, A. D. 1003.

CXLVI. Johannes, the seventeenth, was given to magic. He took the choice of the popes from the people, appointed the feast of All Souls, and died, the 20th day of the 4th month of his papacy, A. D. 1003.

CLXVII. Johannes, the 18th, crowned the emperor Conrade, and was also protected by him. He died in his 7th year A. D. 1009.

CXLVIII. Sergius, the fourth, was the first, that on Christmas

night consecrated swords, roses, or the like, to be sent as tokens of love and honor, to such princes as deserved best, and whom he desired to oblige. He died, A. D. 1012

CXLIX. Benedictus, the eighth, a Tuscan; he crowned the emperor Henry. In his time there was so great a plague, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. He died in his 13th year, A. D. 1024.

CL. Johannes, the nineteenth, son to the bishop of Portua; some say not in orders before he took the popedom. Platina says, he was a man of excellent life, and died, upon the 9th day of the 11th year of his papacy, A. D. 1034.

CLI. Benedictus, the ninth, a conjuror, was wont, (with Laurence and Gracean, conjurors also, whom he had made cardinals,) to wander in the woods to invoke devils, and bewitch women to follow them. He sat 10 years, 4 months and 9 days, and was deposed, A. D. 1045.

CLII. Sylvester, the fifth, was made pope while Benedict was living, but the other soon recovered his seat. When Sylvester had sat but 49 days, he created Casimer, a monk, king of Poland. He is seldom esteemed as pope.

CLIII. Gregorius, the sixth, received the keys when there were three popes extant at one time; but Henry, the emperor, expelled Benedict, Sylvester, and Gregory, (this last having sat 2 years and 7 months,) A. D. 1046.

CLIV. Climes, the second: he made the Romans renounce, by oath, the right they claimed of choosing popes; but Henry, the emperor being gone, they poisoned this pope, A. D. 1047, when he sat not full 9 months.

CLV. Damasus, the second, a Bavarian, without consent of the clergy or people, seized on the popedom; but he enjoyed it only a short time, for he died upon the 23d day after his usurpation.

CLVI. Leo, the ninth, a German, a man of great piety, innocence and hospitality to strangers and the poor. At Versailles he held a council against Berengarius. He sat 5 years, 2 months and 6 days, and died, A. D. 1054.

CLVII. Victor, the second, a Bavarian, made pope by favor of Henry, the emperor. He held a great council at Florence, deprived divers bishops for fornication and simony, and died in his 3d year, A. D. 1055.

CLVIII. Stephanus, the ninth, brought the church of Milan under the obedience of the popes of Rome, which, till that time, challenged equality with them. He died at Florence, the 8th day of his 7th month, A. D. 1057.

CLIX. Benedictus the tenth, a Campanian, made pope by the faction of nobles; but by a council held at Sutrinum, he was deposed and banished, having sat 8 months and 20 days.

CLX. Nicholas, the second, took from the Roman clergy, the election of the popes, and gave it to the college of cardinals;

caused Berengarius to recant his opinion against transubstantiation, and died in his 3d year, A. D. 1061.

CLXI. Alexander the 2d, a Milinese, inclining to the emperror's right in choosing the popes, was imprisoned and poisoned by Hildebrand, A. D. 1073; having sat 12 years and 6 months.

CLXII. Gregorius, the seventh, commonly called Hildebrand, a turbulent man, excommunicated the emperor, Henry IV. but after many vicissitudes, the emperor compelled him to fly from Rome. He died in exile, in his 12th year, A. D. 1085. He was the last pope whose election was sent to the emperor for confirmation.

CLXIII. Victor, the third, an Italian, defended all the acts of Gregory; but, not long after, he was poisoned, by his sub-deacon, in the chalice, having sat 10 months.

CLXIV. Urbanus, the second, a Hetrurian, excommunicated the emperor, set all Christendom in commotion, and thence was called Turbulens. He died in the twelfth year of his papacy, A. D. 1099.

CLXV. Paschalis, the second, caused the emperor, Henry IV. to submit to him, and attend barefoot at his door; he also excommunicated Henry V. and interdicted priest's marriages. He sat 19 years, and died, A. D. 1118.

CLXVI. Gelasius, the 2nd, a Campanian, was vexed with seditions all his time: some say, the knights templars had their beginning in his papacy. He sat 1 year, and died, A. D. 1119.

CLXVII. Celestus, the second, a Burgundian: he appointed the four fasts, decreed it adultery for a bishop to forsake his see, and interdicted priests marriages. He sat 5 years, 10 months and 6 days, and died, A. D. 1124.

CLXVIII. Honorius the second, a lover of learned men. Arnulphus, an Englishman was murdered in his time, for taxing the vices of the clergy. He died lamented, A. D. 1130; having sat 6 years and 2 months.

CLXIX. Innocentius, the second, opposed by an antipope, called Anaclutus. He ordained that none of the laity should lay hands on any of the clergy, and died, in the 14th year and 7th month of his papacy, A. D. 1143.

CLXX. Celestinus, the second, was the innventor of that mad manner of cursing, with bell, book, and candle; besides which, it is only said of him, that he died in the 5th month of his papacy.

CLXXI. Lucius, the 2d, a Bononian: he mightily incited men to the holy war. In his time, a synod was held in France, against Peter Abelard, who thereupon changed his opinion. Lucius sat 11 months snd 4 days, and was succeeded, A. D. 1145.

CLXXII. Eugenus, the third, a Pisan, a monk of the abbey of St. Bernard: he would not permit the Romans to choose their own senators. He died, A. D. 1153; having sat 8 yrs. and 4 months.

CLXXIII. Anasiasius, the fourth, a Roman: in his time, there was a famine all over Europe. He gave a great chalice to the church of Lateran, and died, A. D. 1154; having sat 1 year.

CLXXIV. Adrianus, the 4th, an Englishman, (the only one who ever attained this station:) he forced Frederick, the emperor, to hold his stirrup; and then, excommunicated him for claiming his right to signing his name before the popes. Being choked with a fly, at Anagnia, he died, A. D. 1159; having sat 5 yrs. and 10 months, leaving some letters and homilies, which are still extant.

CLXXV. Alexander the third: he excommunicated the empeperor, Frederick I. and obliged him to prostrate himself at his feet, when he (the pope) trod on his neck. He sat 22 years, and died, A. D. 1181.

CLXXVI. Lucius, the 3d, strove to abolish the Roman consuls, for which he was forced to quit Rome, and retire to Verona, where he died, A. D. 1185; having sat 4 years and 2 months.

CLXXVII. Urbanus, the third, a Milanese: in his time Jerusalem was taken by Saladine: with grief whereof the pope died, A. D. 1186. He sat 1 year and 10 months.

CLXXVIII. Gregorius, the eighth, incited the Christian princes to the recovery of Jerusalem, in which endeavours he died, in the 57th day of his papacy.

CLXXIX. Clement, the third, excommunicated the Danes, for maintaining the marriages of their clergy; composed the differences at Rome, and died, A. D. 1191, in the 4th year of his papacy.

CLXXX. Celestinus, the third, put the crown on the emperor's head with his feet, and then struck it off again, saying, "per me reges regnant." He sat 7 years, and died, A. D. 1198.

CLXXXI. Innocentius, the 3d, brought in the doctrine of transubstantiation; ordained a pix to cover the host, and a bell to be rung before it; and first imposed auricular confession upon the people. He sat 18 years, and was succeeded, A. D. 1216.

CLXXXII. Honorius, the third, who confirmed the orders of Dominick and Francis, and set them against the Waldenses; exacted two prebends of every cathedral in England. He sat 11 years and 11 months, and died, A. D. 1227.

CLXXXIII. Gregorius, the ninth, thrice excommunicated the emperor Frederick. In his time began the deadly feuds of the papal Guelphs, and the imperial Gibbelines. He sat 14 years and 3 months, and died, A. D. 1241.

CLXXXIV. Celestinus the fourth, a man of great learning and piety; but being very old, and perhaps poisoned at his entrance, he kept his seat but 18 days.

CLXXXV. Innocentius the fourth, in a council at Lyons, deposed the emperor Frederick. Terrified with a dream, of his being cited to judgment, he died, A. D. 1253: having sat 11 years and 6 months.

CLXXXVI. Alexander the fourth, condemned the book of Wil-

liam de Sancto Amore, sainted Clara, pillaged England of its treasure, and died at Veterbium, A. D. 1160, in the 7th year of his papacy.

CLXXXVII. Urbanus the fourth, formerly patriarch of Jerusalem: he instituted the feast of Corpus Christi day, solicited thereto by Eva, an anchoress. He sat 3 years, 1 month and 4 days, and died, A D. 1264.

CLXXXVIII. Clement the fourth, the greatest lawyer in France, had, before his election, a wife and three children; sent Octobenus into England to take the value of all church revenues. He sat 4 years, and died, A. D. 1268. After him was a vacancy of two years.

CLXXXIX. Gregory the tenth, an Italian, held a council at Lyons, whereat was present, Michael Paliologus, the Greek emperor, who acknowledged there, the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son. This pope sat 4 years, 2 months and 10 days, and died, A. D. 1276.

CXC. Adrianus the fifth, a Genoese, before called Octobonus, and legate in England, in the days of Henry III. He died before he was consecrated, in the fortieth day of his popedom.

CXCI. Johannes the twentieth, a Spaniard, and physician; tho' a learned man, yet unskilled in affairs. He sat but 8 months.

CXCII. Nicholas the third, first practised to enrich his kindred. He raised a quarrel between the French and Sicilians, which occasioned the massacre of the Sicilian vesper. He sat 3 years, and was then succeeded, A. D. 1281.

CXCIII. Martinus the fourth, a Frenchman. He kept the concubine of his predecessor, Nicholas; removed all pictures of bears from the palace, lest his concubine should bring forth a bear. He sat 4 years and died, A. D. 1285.

CXCIV. Honorius the fourth, confirmed the Augustine friars, and caused the Carmelites to be called "our Lady's brethren." He died, A. D. 1287; having sat 2 years and 1 day.

CXCV. Nicholas the fourth, preferred persons solely out of respect to their virtue, and died of grief, to see church and state in a remediless confusion; having sat 4 years and one month, A. D. 1292. After him was a vacancy for two years.

CXCVI. Celestinus the fifth, a hermit, was easily prevailed on to quit the chair; the cardinals persuading him that it was above his ability: he resigned, was imprisoned, and died; having sat 5 months only.

CXCVII. Bonifacius the eighth, by his general bull, exempted the clergy from being chargeable with taxes and payments to temporal princes; first set forth the decretals, and established the feast of Jubilee. He sat 9 years and was succeeded, A. D. 1303.

CXCVIII. Benedictus the tenth, a Lombard, was a man of great humility, and desired to compose all broils; but was poisoned

by a fig, A. D. 1303; having sat 8 months and 17 days—After him was a vacancy of eleven months.

CXCIX. Clement the fifth, first made indulgences and pardons saleable. He removed the papal see from Rome to Avignon, in France, where it continued for seven years. He sat 8 years and died, A. D. 1315. In his time the order of the knights templars was extinguished, and the grand master, with many of the brethren, were burnt at Paris.

CC. Johannes, the twenty-first: he sainted Thomas Aquinas, and Thomas of Hereford; challenged supremacy over the Greek church, and died, having sat 18 years and four months, A. D. 1234.

CCI. Benedictus the eleventh, a man of that constancy, as by no means to be swayed from that which he thought right. He died, A. D. 1342, in the 9th year of his papacy.

CCII. Clement the sixth. A dreadful pestilence was in his time, in Italy, so that scarcely a tenth man remained alive. He died, A. D. 1352; having sat 10 years, 6 months, and 28 days.

CCIII. Innocentius the sixth, a lawyer, burnt John de Rupe Scessa, for foretelling shrewd things of antichrist. He sat 10 years, and died, A. D. 1362.

CCIV. Urbanus the fifth, a great stickler for popish privileges: he confirmed the order of St. Bridget. Being poisoned, as it is thought, he died, A. D. 1370; having sat 8 years and 4 months.

CCV. Gregorius the eleventh, returned the papal chair to Rome, he excommunicated the Florentines; sat 7 years and 5 months, and died, A. D. 1377.

CCVI. Urbanus, the sixth. Gunpowder was invented in his time. He made fifty-four cardinals; held a jubilee to gather money, and died, A. D. 1389; having sat 11 years and 8 months.

CCVII. Bonifacius the ninth, scarce thirty years old, when made pope; very ignorant, and a great seller of church livings. He sat 14 years and 9 months, and died, A. D. 1403.

CCVIII. Innocentius the seventh, demanded the money of ecclesiastical benefices, both in France and England; but was stoutly denied. He sat but 2 years, and died, A. D. 1406.

CCIX. Gregorius the twelfth, swore to resign for the peace of the church; but a collusion being discerned between him and Benedict, both were arrested, A. D. 1409.

CCX. Alexander the fifth, a Cretan, a man of great sanctity and learning: he deposed Ladislaus, king of Naples and Apulia, and sat but 8 months.

CCXI. Johannes, the XXII., (of Naples;) by his consent, a council was assembled at Constance, where he himself was deposed, A. D. 1414. After him, was a vacancy of almost 3 years.

CCXII. Martinus the fifth, condemned Wickliff, burned John Huss, and Jerome, of Prague, his followers. He sat 14 years and some months, and died, A. D. 1431.

CCXIII. Eugenius the fourth, a Venetian, refused to appear at

the council of Basil, which thereupon deposed him, A. D. 1447. He sat 16 years.

CCXIV. Nicholas the fifth, (of Genoa :) in his time the Turks took Constantinople. He built the Vatican, and died in the eighth year of his papacy.

CCXV. Celestus the third, a Spaniard, sent preachers throughout Europe, to animate princes to war against the Turks. He sat but three years, and died, A. D. 1458.

CCXVI. Pius the second, an Italian, approved of the marriage of the clergy ; and turned out numerous cloistered nuns. He sat 6 years, and was succeeded, A. D. 1464.

CCXVII. Paulus, the second ; he exceeded all his predecessors in pomp and show ; enriched his mitre with all kinds of precious stones ; honoured the cardinals with a scarlet gown, and reduced the jubilee from fifty to twenty-five years. He sat 7 years, and died, A. D. 1471.

CCXVIII Sixtus, the fourth, ordained a guard to tend his person ; was the first founder of the Vatican library, and brought in beads. He sat 13 years, and died, A. D. 1484.

CCXIX. Innocentius, the eighth, of Genoa ; much given to excess in drinking and venery. He sat 7 years, and 10 months, and died, A. D. 1492.

CCXX. Alexander the sixth, first openly acknowledged his nephews (as they call their natural sons) to be his sons; was incestuous with his daughter, and died, A. D. 1503, of poison, which was given him in mistake, by his servants, instead of some cardinals, whom he had invited to an entertainment, and for whom he had prepared it.

CCXXI. Pius, the third, proposed to compel all Frenchmen to leave Italy ; but died, in the interim, of an ulcer in his leg ; having sat but 25 days.

CCXXII. Julius, the second, more a soldier than a prelate, passing over a bridge of the Tiber, threw his key into the river, and brandished his sword; excommunicated Lewis, of France, sat 10 years, and died, A. D. 1513.

CCXXIII. Leo, the tenth, burnt Luther's books, declaring him a heretic; Luther did the like at Wirtemberg, with the pope's canon law, declaring him a persecutor, tyrant, and the very antichrist. Leo died, A. D. 1522.

CCXXIV. Adrian, the sixth, a Low-countryman, made shew, at his entrance, of reformation ; but was diverted : the Lutherans began to spread, and the Turks to approach ; these, and other things, broke him so that he died in his second year, A. D. 1523.

CCXXV. Clement the seventh, of Florence, in his time Rome was sacked, and the pope made prisoner, by the duke of Bourbon ; and the pope's supremacy was cast off, in England, by Henry VIII. Some say that he died of the lousy disease, A. D. 1534.

CCXXVI. Paul the third, called the council of Trent ; prostituted his sister ; committed incest with his daughter, and poison-

ed her husband; attempted the chastity of his niece, and being found in the fact, was marked by her husband. He was a necromancer, i. e. an astronomer: he was learned and judicious, and wrote well in verse and prose, and corresponded with Erasmus, and other learned men of his time. He died, A. D. 1549, aged 82.

CCXXVII. Julius the third, gave a cardinal's hat to a sodomitical boy, called Innocentius: in his time, Casa, archbishop of Bonaventum, printed a book in defence of sodomy. England reconciled to the mother church in queen Mary's time. Julius died, A. D. 1555.

CCXXVIII. Marcellus the second, a Hetruscan; he esteemed the Lutherans worse than Turks, and persuaded Charles V. and Ferdinand rather to turn their forces against them. He was pope but twenty-three days.

CCXXIX. Paul the fourth, the Neapolitan, a great patron of the Jesuits and their inqulsition, in which had been made away one hundred and fifty persons for religion. Being hated for his cruelty, after his death A. D. 1569, his statue was cast into the Tiber.

CCXXX. Pius the fourth, continued the council of Trent, brought it to an end, and thereby settled and confirmed the interest of The church of Rome. His legates were forbid footing in England, by queen Elizabeth. Venery and luxury shortened this pope's days, and was succeeded, A. D. 1566.

CCXXXII. Gregorius the thirteenth, a Bononian. The massacre at Paris was by this man's procurement; he altered the calendar to his new style, which anticipates the old account 10 days; he excommunicated and ousted the archbishop of Collen because he married: would have deposed the king of Portugal, but was prevented. He sat 13 years, and then was succeeded, A. D. 1585.

CCXXXIII. Sixtus the fifth, of Marca Ancona: his parents were so poor that, when a boy, he was hired as a swineherd, but ran away, and attached himself to a Franciscan friar, saying he 'would willingly suffer the pains of purgatory to be made a scholar' By his perseverance, talents and learning, he obtained the highest honors of the convent. His ambition was boundless, when but a ragged errand boy to the friars, he promised to 'pay for a pair of shoes when he should be pope." His hypocrisy was equal to his ambition, for when Pius V. gave him a cardinal's hat, (at which time he assumed the name of cardinal Montalo,) he affected a total disregard of all secular concerns, and for fifteen years, pretended to be decripit with age and disease, so as scarcely to move, even with a staff. Upon pope Gregory's death, the conclave being divided between the interest of the French and Spanish cardinals, and each fearing to risk the decision, they proposed the pontificate to Montalto, but he told the parties separately, 'he was too feeble to govern,

and too old to live long ; that the care of the holy see must rest upon them, if he was chosen pontiff:' this fixed their decision. As soon as the votes were counted, he threw away his staff, and called for the sacred robe ; which, as the cardinals assisted in putting on, he pronounced a sovereign panacea ; to one of them, who remarked the change in his person, he replied, ' yes, I was then looking for the keys of heaven, but now, that I have found them, I may look upwards. When cardinal Farnese tendered his services in the duties of office, he dismissed him, gravely saying, that he needed no assistance, but found himself capable of governing two such empires. Notwithstanding the means by which he attained the triple crown, he used his power to the benefit of the citizens of Rome, by suppressing assassins, and checking many vices ; firmly adhering to the motto he assumed with the pontificate ; " I came not to send peace upon earth, but a sword." He gave it as his opinion that there were but three potentates at that time, capable of governing ; Sixtus V., Queen Elizabeth, and Henry IV., of France and Navarre ; although he had excommunicated them both. Sixtus died, A. D. 1590.

CCXXXIV. Urbanus the seventh, a Genoese, ascended the chair after him : he enjoyed his popedom but one fortnight, dying before his inauguration.

CCXXXV. Gregorius the fourteenth, of Milan : he held a jubilee, and exhausted the treasury of the church, which Sixtus before had sealed by an oath, to be employed in the recovery of the Holy Land : he cursed king Henry, of Navarre, as a relapsed heretic : his bulls were burnt by the hands of the hangman. He died of the stone, before he had sat 1 year.

CCXXXVI. Innocentius the ninth, a Bononian, for the two months he was in, expressed a hatred against the king of Navarre, and a good liking for the Jesuits. 1 year, 4 months, and 3 days, made an end of four popes, A. D. 1592.

CCXXXVII. Clement the eighth, made Henry, of France, turn papist to be quiet : was much troubled with the gout, but eased as he said, when the archduke Maximilian kissed his gouty toes. He was succeeded, A. D. 1604.

CCXXXVIII. Leo the eleventh : he came in with this motto over his triumphal pageant, " Dignus est Leo in virtute agni acciperi librum & solveri septem signaculi ejus ; but a fever ended him before he had sat twenty-eight days.

CCXXXIX. Paul the fifth, an Italian, promoted the powder plot : interdicted the state of Venice, whereupon the Jesuits were banished ; the oath of allegiance to king James was forbidden by breves from this pope. He sat 16 years.

CCXL. Gregorius the fifteenth, a Bononian, obtained the see ; elected by way of adoration ; he instigated the French against the protestants ; sainted Ignatius Loyola, and quarrelled with the Venetians. He sat 2 years.

CCXLI. Urbanus the eighth, a Florentine, was chosen A. D. 1263; he advanced his kindred In his time the archbishop of Spoleta turned from papist to protestant, and from thence to papist again He was a more polite scholar than most of them, and was succeeded, A. D. 1644.

CCXLII. Innocentius the tenth, sat 11 years.

CCXLIII. Alexander the seventh, was chosen, A. D. 1655; sat 12 years, and then was succeeded, A. D. 1667.

CCXLIV. Clement the ninth, sat three years.

CCXLV. Clement the tenth, obtained the chair, A. D. 1670, and sat six years.

CCXLVI. Innocent the eleventh, obtained the chair in 1675, and continued 13 years.

CCXLVII. Alexander the eighth, made pope, A. D. 1689; and sat 2 years.

CCXLVIII. Innocent the twelfth, came in, A. D. 1691; and sat upwards of 8 years.

CCXLIX. Clement, the eleventh, succeeded, A. D. 1700; and sat 21 years; dying, A. D. 1721.

CCL. Innocent, the thirteenth, made pontiff; he sat near 3 years, and died, A. D. 1724.

CCLI. Benedict the thirteenth, sat upwards of 5 years; dying, A. D. 1730.

CCLII. Clement the twelfth, obtained the popedom, which he held 10 years, and was succeeded, A. D. 1740.

CCLIII. Benedict the fourteenth, who sat 18 years; died, A. D. 1758.

CCLIV. Clement the thirteenth, who died, A. D. 1769.

CCLV. Clement the fourteenth, who died, A. D. 1775

CCLVI. Pius the sixth; he visited Vienna, 1782, to solicit the emperor in favor of the church; took shelter from the French, in Naples, 1796; quitted Rome, when the French took possession, Feb. 1798; died, the prisoner of Buonaparte, Sept. 1799.

CCLVII. Pius the seventh; crowned Buonaparte emperor of the French, Dec. 2, 1804; deprived of all his territories by Buonaparte, 1808; prisoner of Buonaparte, 1811.

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